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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

**Patching Up Company Unionism**

Our Attacks Tell

**Workers Education and  
The Workers Fight**

**Union-Management Cooperation?**

**The Control of Wages**

**Corrupting Satan's Morals  
Union-Labeled Thinking**

**He Didn't Save!  
International Anarchy**

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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

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Presenting all the facts about American labor—Believing that the goal of the American labor movement lies in industry for service, with workers' control.



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# Labor Age

The National Monthly

## Workers Education and The Workers Fight



THE CHALLENGE—STEEL WORKERS UNORGANIZED  
AND COMPANY UNIONIZED

**W**HAT is the first and likewise the final task of Workers' Education, to which we are again turning this Fall season? The answer: To equip men and women in the movement with that spirit and intelligence which will drive toward the education of the unorganized, the stimulation of their organized brethren, and thus give to the workers increasing control of industry.

Of all the false fronts of the Open Shop campaign, that presented by Company Unionism looms up as the most menacing. If our workers educational groups—whether organized in regular classes or through the central bodies—fail to arm the members of the Movement with those

weapons which will destroy Company Unionism, then those groups are merely going through waste motions.

In order that the groups may be forewarned, we present in this issue the opening of a discussion on those methods—of organization, publicity and agitation—which will most effectively rip the bosses' hokum to shreds. We invite workers' education groups to consider these articles, look the situation in the face, and ask themselves how thoroughly they are preparing their "students" for the fight that is facing them. The question is one worth while weighing, for in it is bound up the future fate of the workers in this country.

# Company Unions and Workers' Education

By FANNIA M. COHN

**I**N a number of articles on company unions which have appeared recently in non-labor magazines the writers, who profess a sympathy with the organized labor movement, have nevertheless, painted this new form of "labor organization" in the most glowing terms. Although they insist that they were actuated in writing by a desire to warn the labor movement of the menace in this development, their descriptions of these organizations and their mere reference to defects show them, too, to have been impressed by the current misconceptions about company unionism.

The efficiency of shop organization in the plants operating under this system, and the superficial show of interest in the organization elicited from the workers by the management seem to have so affected these writers that they forgot all about the aims and principles of the labor movement. That such sophisticated trade union sympathizers could be so influenced is only another proof of the efficiency of the publicity machines of industrial plants operating company unions.

For an entirely different picture of these organizations can easily be painted. One has but to emphasize, first, the degrading effects of their paternalism. In America, where so many object so vehemently to paternalism—even if carried on by the state, which is, after all, our own institution—how much more should we object to this paternalism of money kings, responsible to none and through their economic power, able to control the happiness and the very lives of workers and their families? And company unions are undoubtedly paternalistic; worse than that, they remind us of feudalism. The management buys off its workers with a few advantages, usually only apparent, for the tacit understanding that they will not assert themselves as social units.

## Mistrust and Fear

Indeed, it would be difficult for them to assert themselves. In the company union, the link between worker and worker is a representative of the company, not of the worker. Paid by the company, when the necessity for a choice between his real and ostensible master arises, he will naturally give the company, not the workers, his services. Thus, the workers cannot trust their so-called representatives and come to mistrust even each other. Each fears in his neighbor a possible company spy. Dependent upon the good will of the management for his welfare, the worker comes to feel thankful to his employer for it. He brings up his children to regard with gratitude those who make it possible for them to live. Such a condition is one of industrial slavery.

Obviously, it could not be, as the management claims, the choice of the workers. Exhaustive investigation, indeed, has shown that company unions have in every case been foisted upon the workers. The Pennsylvania Railroad is a clear case of this. It organized its shopmen into a company union in 1921, against their overwhelm-

ing vote to be represented in disputes with the railroad by trade unions. It has maintained its organization until today in defiance of an order of the Railroad Labor Board to comply with the wishes of the workers and a decision of the United States Supreme Court that in not doing so it was violating the Transportation Act. The Pennsylvania Railroad has been able to thumb its nose at the United States Government because the law provides no penalty for violation. But its workers can hardly be said to have chosen the plan.

What sort of "industrial democracy" is that which supervises every action of the men, does not allow them to have departmental meetings as a rule, and initiates every step taken by them? On the front cover of the company union by-laws of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, for example, appear the following titles:

THE GUILDS OF MECHANICAL DEPARTMENT  
EMPLOYEES  
OF  
THE CENTRAL RAILROAD COMPANY OF NEW JERSEY  
By-Laws

Effective October 1, 1922

C. E. Chambers, Superintendent of Motive Power and Equipment.

Approved: C. K. Stein, General Manager.

Initiated by the Superintendent of Motive Power and approved by the General Manager! Of such stuff are company unions made. Of such stuff is their "democracy"!

Even where workers do show an interest in their company union, however, it is a narrow one, confined to the single plant. Members of company unions know nothing about the industry as a whole, the workers engaged in it, or the broad problems they are trying to solve through their economic organizations, the trade unions. They have none of that desire to understand the industry that makes workers attend classes to study it and its reference to them as producers, possible participants in control and consumers. Nor do they profit by that profound moral effect that working together for each other's welfare produces on millions of trade unionists.

Company unions, despite all efforts to confound them with real unions, are entirely distinct from the labor movement, that great social force that is the hope not only of the toiling masses but also of all liberal minded men and women who see in it the institution that can change our social and economic institutions and mold the future form of society.

## Automatons Vs. Men

Company unions are, after all, interested only in stimulating production, neglecting human considerations for the purely industrial. Automatons with productive capacity would meet perfectly with the plans and intentions of the organizers of the so-called "representative government in industry."

Even outside such mechanized plants, our highly organized society has reduced the workers almost to insignificance. For millions of them, their unions are not only economic, but social institutions, giving them dignity, self-confidence and self-respect. These organizations which they themselves have builded by reflecting their strength and intelligence give them a consciousness of power.

The industrial plants maintaining company unions are well aware that these organizations bear small resemblance to trade unions and are not planned to advantage the worker. When the National Industrial Conference Board, composed of a number of manufacturers' associations, many of them strongly anti-union, sent a questionnaire on company unions to its members, its leading question showed what the Board thought of them: "We want, in particular, to know to what extent in your experience, works councils and similar forms of employee representation, have been introduced or managed *as a device for offsetting trade unionism in your plant?*" (*Italics ours*).

Labor men agree with the National Industrial Conference Board that company unions are mere devices to keep out trade unions. A leader of the shop crafts unions who has been watching conditions on the Pennsylvania Railroad from the days when it had a frankly anti-union policy explains the purpose of company unions on that road: "There is only one difference between the plan now in existence prior to 1918 and that is that prior to 1918 the employees knew that they were without redress except that they were privileged to quit their job. The present plan is only camouflaged to fool the public."

#### Wide Publicity Tells

But a favorable opinion of company unions is still so widely current that even these "trade union sympathizers" writing recently show its impress. That opinion is due to the widespread and effective advertising of their creature by the organizers of company unions. So far the workers, the "beneficiaries" of the unions, have spoken little. It is the creators of the plan who are heralding its advantages far and wide. They have developed a remarkably efficient publicity system to make known to the world the services of company unionism to workers and consumers, conveniently forgetting the management.

These publicity men, using inaccurate figures if accurate ones will not do, point out to the public the increased production made possible under the company union system. They attack the trade unions for curtailing production and though they base their attacks on mere guesses, their brisk talk impresses the public mind.

Has the labor movement approached the problem of the company union intelligently and exposed it effectively before its membership and the public at large? It is, after all, for the labor movement to make the distinction between the company union with its narrow shop conception, its lack of interest in human relations, and its practical inefficacy, and those genuine economic organizations, the trade unions.

The labor movement must do much in the way of research and investigation to gather facts which it can use to show the public the increased productivity which has resulted from trade union control of industry. Assertions will not help in controverting company union publicity. We must fight them with facts about labor movement achievements, policies, problems, aims. The facts exist, we must assemble them and make them widely known that trade unionists and the public may know the truth and organizers and active members be armed against the poisonous propaganda carried on by company union advocates.

Especially the labor movement should be ever ready to provide honest and earnest students with facts and information. True, the movement has not at present sufficient means to satisfy all who seek information in labor quarters. But once the leadership realizes that investigation, research and publicity are not luxuries to be undertaken only after legitimate activities have been provided for but essentials for the growth of the movement, they will convince the workers that funds must be provided for them.

The workers spend hundreds of millions of dollars today on fraternal organizations that offer them nothing but sociability and a magnificent funeral. They are willing to finance these organizations, since their elaborate ritual and picturesque robes satisfy a perfectly natural desire for a feeling of importance. The labor movement can provide for the same psychological needs. There is no reason why, if we give enough attention to it, we should not succeed in persuading the workers of the truth of this and thus win their support, financial and moral for our efforts to place at the disposal of the labor movement the knowledge and information that research and inquiry will afford it.

It is not necessary to point out that a knowledge of individual and social psychology will be essential here as elsewhere. Industry and commerce are already making the completest use of what we know about human behavior. In their advertising and publicity, they concentrate on the fears and desires of men and women to deceive them and trap them into company unions. The labor movement can use the same psychology to strengthen the trade unions and make the workers happier.

The workers' education movement can do much in the way of presenting the principles of psychology to leaders and active trade unionists. But its usefulness is not limited there. It can make very great contributions to our whole attack on company unions. It can give the workers information about them, thus building a bulwark against the propaganda coming from the large industrialists. It has already begun such an analysis for students of the labor movement in workers' classes and in the summer institutes where active trade unionists discuss with technicians the new problems facing labor. Already officers and members of the rank and file have seen a truer picture of these organizations and their aims.

It has not been our aim in this article to present a detailed picture of company unionism; we hope to write a more specific article at another time. We might have shown, for instance, that these "industrial democracies"

## STARS OF BETHLEHEM

**G**ENERAL Manager Timothy Burns (of the Bethlehem Steel Works at Lackawanna) has had visitors of late. One bright day this last month the entire Royal family of the Bethlehem Company descended upon him, headed by old Eagle Eye, President Grace himself.

The delegation wanted to know: "What the hell was the matter at Lackawanna?" (Our article caused the consternation). We can tell you what is the matter, gentlemen. Neither Sob Sister Ludlum nor Soft Soaper Larkin have been able to hide your quackery. Men with brains refuse to follow the Lehigh University boys in their college yell for Bethlehem.

This is what your men want:

1. The right to join the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.
- 2...The abolition of the Labor spy system, including the firing of the Pinkertons, the Corporation Auxiliary Company, and your own private operatives.
3. The immediate right to meet in departmental

meetings, or in plant meetings, without the presence of the representatives of the Company.

4. A union check-weighman for tonnage workers, and a public written guarantee that men will not be fired for membership or activity in unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

5. No wage cuts—such as have been threatened—but a marked wage increase, based on the increased productivity of the workers at the Lackawanna Plant.

We advise King Eugene I and his royal retinue to read the November issue of *LABOR AGE*, dealing with "The Stars of Bethlehem". From it they will learn something about themselves and much about the mis-working of their employee representation scheme. Their men at Lackawanna will be reading all about it, we can assure them.

Keep on your toes, Men of Lackawanna! Resist all wage cuts! Force the candidates for representative in the coming elections to pledge themselves for wage increases, and for the right to meet without company representatives present! Every candidate for representative who refuses to pledge himself to these demands should be defeated.

have never successfully opposed the management. But even our general picture must have shown that the commonly accepted view of company unions is based on a misconception.

### Ideals—Not Bargaining Alone

The workers' education movement has an even more valuable contribution to make in the fight on company unionism. The time is approaching when the labor movement will realize that its bargaining activities alone will not drive company unions out of existence. We shall have to hold before the army of organized and unorganized workers an ideology—what the labor movement stands for, what it holds in store for the workers, for mankind as a whole, its possibilities, its aims, and its vision of a new world shaped in closer conformity with modern industrial conditions and keeping ever in mind the great wealth we are capable of producing if we use our technical skill for the advantage not of the few but of the many.

The history of the workers' struggle for a better life, more leisure, more culture lends itself easily to dramatization. The price the organizers of the movement paid, the suffering they gladly endured to build up the labor movement make a thrilling story which can be used to stir the imagination of the workers, to inspire them to strengthen their organization by bringing into it the millions of workers now trapped in company unions. The younger generation of workers many of whom did not participate in the building of the movement but on whose loyalty depends its future may be spurred on to greater efforts by this story.

The pioneers who martyred themselves willingly were impelled not only by economic motives; a strong moral force urged them on. This should be emphasized, for

as my contact with the mass of organized labor belonging to different groups and tendencies has shown me workers respond as readily to a moral appeal as to an appeal to their economic interests.

Many single incidents in the history of trade unionism are a source of legitimate pride to the workers and should be used to urge them on. The rapid growth in the last years of the workers education movement is itself an inspiration. The workers are proud of the fact that the movement was initiated and conducted by their own labor movement, that they invite the specialist to teach in their own classes. They make clearly the distinction between education handed down to them from above and education for which they themselves are responsible. These distinctions are not narrow; they have no tinge of chauvinism. They are not clannish, but are a necessary development within a group that has never before had an opportunity to participate in the conduct of our educational institutions.

Many of us believe, then, that workers' education can be a potent force in combatting company unions, on the one hand by helping the labor movement to expose them and on the other by inspiring the trade unionist with his own mission. It can imbue him with a spirit of pride in his own achievements and create in him a sense of responsibility for social and industrial conditions. Even more important, it can arouse in him a greater interest in the industry in which he is engaged, in marketing as well as production. It can confirm him in his belief that greater productivity should mean more comfort not only to the producers—the workers and their families—but also to the consumer. Then, the worker will be the ally of the consumer, and the consumer be conscious of it.

# Industrial Unionism vs. Company Unionism?

*A Subject for Workers Education and Action*

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

**D**IVINE-RIGHT Kings came in time to find that they could not strut across the stage alone. In the good, old days for them, they sent out their henchmen and seized what they chose for the royal treasury, from their faithful subjects. Alas! Civilization went on apace. Things become more complex. The subjects became able to defend themselves, somewhat.

So the King, with all his Divine Right and other hypocrisy, was compelled to call together the chief men of this and that community in his realm, and ask them to provide him with money. That is the way Parliaments began. Thus, out of the King's brain and the King's need, grew up the roots of "political democracy."

For, these chief men from the diverse corners of the realm did not rest content, after a bit, to vote taxes for the King. They began to look about and ask themselves: "What can we get out of this?" And so, they made demands in return for their vote on taxes. They secured this right and that, until they grew big—and mightier than the King himself.

Professor William M. Leiserson throws out the hint that that may be the way, too, of "Company Unionism". It has built up a great false front of "Industrial Democracy". Perhaps, in time and with militant pressure from outside unionism, its workers may demand the real substance rather than the shadow "Industrial Democracy" now handed them. The Employers find that today they can no longer strut across the stage as mere, bold "Open Shoppers". They must discover some new channel for securing production and more production. The company union has been the convenient vehicle. Perhaps it will grow big, too—big with a new Democratic Caliban for Child—and swell to sizes the corporations dreamed little of.

## Time to Wake Up!

At Brookwood's railroad institute, the professor threw out this suggestion, leaving us rather with the thought that "boring from within" might help a lot in making the "company union" a real instrument of unionism. He left other thoughts, also: That there are company unions and company unions. There are this kind and that. One must be tackled in one way, and one in another. For meeting all of them, a new form of organization may be necessary, in whole or in part.

The professor can hardly be called a dreamer of dreams. He has had considerable practical experience as impartial chairman in the clothing industry. His study of the company union idea is more than superficial. We ought, therefore, to sit up and take notice!

It is about time for a little sitting up. Some of our central bodies and local unions are so far asleep, so lost in a round of petty do-nothingisms, that they might as well be dead. We have just made a survey of a great

number of central bodies—and we find too many of them so lifeless and inert that they do not even desire to look further into renewing the Labor Fight. Is it any wonder that the workers, in those centers, are making no union progress, and frequently are steadily being driven back?

"Awake, and awake intelligently!" is the hour's demand. Put aside petty prejudices and old moss-grown traditions, if such be necessary. Look only at Facts—the great reality—for it is that thing that we have to face, anyway.

The devices of the employers are not existent, just to be stared at or to be howled at. In that way, we will not save ourselves from congealing into that "nation of hired men"—of slow-witted slaves—which Father John A. Ryan sees us coming to. The employers' schemes are to be FOUGHT, from within, from without—with Fanaticism such as the old union movement knew, with Facts such as the new era puts at our command.

Here is this question of Industrial Unionism, discussed in part in our last issue. Are we looking it through? Are we weighing it and measuring it and really seeking to discover if it can fit against Company Unionism in the mass production industries? Some of us, at least, are doing so. Rightly or wrongly, the SEATTLE UNION RECORD of August 20th says:

## CRAFT VS. COMPANY UNIONS

The failure of the subway strike in New York has significance for the whole A. F. of L. movement. The strikers never affiliated with the A. F. of L. and they sorely missed the knowledge, experience, prestige and moral and financial support which A. F. of L. affiliation might have brought. For the failure of negotiations between the strikers and the A. F. of L. personalities on both sides were partly responsible. More responsible, however, was the craft organization of the street car workers. The subway strikers had belonged to a company union. They had worked together. They were striking together. But when it came to joining the A. F. of L., they found that not all of them could unite with the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Employees but that they would have to be split up in several craft unions. On this rock, negotiations broke. The strike which was in its essence a hopeful revolt against the company unionism which the A. F. of L. hates, went on without A. F. of L. help. It was defeated. Company unionism won another victory.

This is not altogether an isolated case. We know of an important company union which would probably revolt and join the A. F. of L. if it would not have to be split up straightway into craft unions. Such a state of affairs raises the question whether the A. F. of L. can make a winning fight against company unions without first dealing with the problem of craft organization. Historically, craft organization was the line of least resistance. It may still be the

## LABOR AGE

logical type of organization for most of the building trades although they, too, have been cursed with jurisdictional disputes. It is not the logical type of organization for modern largescale industries.

The A. F. of L. itself has in its successful examples of industrial unionism among the miners and needle workers. It cannot fight company unionism without extending this principle of organization. There are some real difficulties in the way of consolidation of craft unions which it will require statesmanship to overcome. Not the least of these difficulties is the vested interest that officers naturally and inevitably acquire in their jobs. Too much is at stake to let these difficulties block the way to such reorganization as will be necessary if ever the A. F. of L. fight against company unions is to get beyond the paper stage.

We don't want dual unionism in the United States. Neither do we want a great labor organization impotent in the face of such opportunity as was presented by the discontent in the ranks of the slave union which the Interborough Transit Company forced on its workers.

In the same mail that brings us the above editorial comes a letter from James Scott, a former steel worker, temporarily residing in Syracuse, N. Y. Being the first letter received in answer to our invitation to discuss this question of Industrial vs. Craft Unionism in the Mass Production Industries, we print it in full, as follows:

The readers of "Labor Age" were given a treat in September, in the articles on Industrial and Craft Unionism by Brothers Kennedy and Zausner. Here we have the honest opinion of two men, both sincere and outspoken. Their articles bring to view the great problem before the trade union movement today.

The big unorganized industries—Auto, Oil, and Steel—form a barrier against Craft Unionism. Union by crafts cannot solve or unravel the problem there. Only Industrial Unionism can do the job.

The above three named industries are an example of modern capitalistic methods, namely, Machine Production, manned mostly by semi-skilled workers, with an entirely foreign attitude toward our old trade union policy of skilled mechanics.

For these workers to organize on an outgrown policy of the craft union idea would be folly—for the workers and yes, for the employers. To attempt to have 25 or 30 separate agreements, all working together and striving to cooperate, would be as easy a task as an attempt to hold a joint convention of the A. O. H., Orangemen, B'nai B'rith, K. K. K. and a negro body in one large convention hall.

The Building Trades have a different case. They have not yet faced a Machine Production Era. And I hope to God, they never do. If it comes to them, it means the same problems that auto and steel workers have on their hands.

The leaders of American Labor must bury their pride and come down from their lofty perch insofar as these mass production industries are concerned. Auto, Oil and Steel Industries must be organized on an industrial basis. One international must work out the problem, and the other internationals must forget the revenue they insist they might get from the dues of these workers.

Two big questions loom up today:

Will the American Labor Movement be big enough to organize Automobiles, Steel and Oil—in order to protect the American standard of living?

Will they venture on a new path, courageously coming out with a new and hopeful policy of Industrial Unionism in mass production industries—or will they, like Nero of old, fiddle while the empire burns?

### The General Electric—and a Suggestion

Warped slightly as these judgments may be said to be, there is an element of truth in them that cannot longer be ignored. Vice-President Michael Fanning of the New York Federation of Labor—connected with the Electrical Workers of Schenectady—states that 60 per cent of the men in the General Electric Company's works there would come under the jurisdiction of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. A like jurisdictional percentage would probably prevail in the steel plants, for the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers.

Why cannot we have a compromise between Brothers Kennedy's and Zausner's views, as a test of what closer unity would do in these totally unorganized industries? Why could not all unions with work crafts in the General Electric surrender jurisdiction to the Electrical Workers for the duration of so many years, either publicly or privately? Why could not the same thing be done in Steel, Oil and Automobiles? It is certain that there is no actual jurisdiction to quarrel about now; for the stark-naked fact is that the workers in those plants are unorganized, partially due to the division among the various internationals. The further fact is, that there seems no hope of organizing them, except by an agency that can effectively offset the Company Union.

The above is set up merely as a suggestion. The situation, as it exists today, is decidedly challenging. Summed up, so far as we have seen Company Unionism to date: the workers under the various schemes have little confidence in them. But the sad thing is, that in many cases, also, they have no faith or hope in regular unionism. This is not merely the result of "prosperity". It is largely the result of their lack of faith in craft unionism, which they doubt can win anything for them.

After looking unorganized workers in the face, at Bayonne, Lackawanna, Passaic, Perth Amboy and many other places—we want to say emphatically: They CAN be organized. New methods will be required, nevertheless. Different steps of contact in this plant and that. We base these statements on the cursory sketch already given: That Company Unionism, on the whole, has not "sold" itself to its workers. But that real unionism has still to "sell" itself, also. And nothing will achieve this last end more than a show of sincere unity and cooperation. We recommend that thought to workers educational institutions. It should be a big part of their task.

### "Harm" Programs

A great publicity splurge has been made by one local labor college this past month in advertising that it will teach "charm" during the coming season. For the publicity ability of the director of that institution, we have

## TWO DISTINCT FUNCTIONS: AGITATION AND NEGOTIATION

**O**UR old friend, the Preacher of the Bible, observes that there is a time for everything. Under our extensive modern division of labor, we might like to persuade ourselves that there is likewise a man for everything. Even Organized Labor, as it looks through the questions of strike and lockout, of publicity and propaganda, of pitting knowledge against bunk, must come to the conclusion that division of activity is needed in its own attack upon the Employing Interests.

As a new period of unrest and revolt appears on the horizon, it is becoming clearer that there are two outstanding functions in the game of war and truce and war again with our "friends", the Employing Enemy. There is agitation. It is what might be termed the "dirty" work, and yet it has its recompenses. To appear before a factory gate, to distribute leaflets, even in defiance of the police, to laugh at courts and all their hocus-pocus, to face jail and come out again to do the thing all over—that is the task of the agitator.

It calls for the young men and women of the Movement, and those who stay eternally young, the men of hope and ideals, those most quickly dubbed "reds" or "nuts" or "left wingers". They can perform a pioneer job for the workers of the days to come, by showing the way to stir up men and women to a new fight for Freedom. They can also

stimulate those grown older or more conceited to a renewed view of what must be done and how it can be done, even in overcoming insurmountable obstacles. They can give that fire of endless revolt which must feed the movement of the masses, if it will not perish.

When the agitator has played his role, when he

When the agitator has played his role, when he ize secretly (as the case may be), then a new figure steps upon the scene. The time for the negotiator has come. It is a task for which the agitator may be well equipped, but for which he has disqualified himself by the very success of his agitation. He who inspires workers with hatred for their chains may not be the man who can help, step by step, in across-the-table negotiation.

Neither the agitator nor the negotiator can be omitted from the picture. We need them both. They supplement each other. They can also check-up on each other. It has too often been the case that Labor in the past attempted to force both activities on the same man. Sometimes it worked well, but sometimes it did not. We need a loose understanding on this subject. The man of fire is needed to hammer the Employers into a pulp. The man of patience is needed, to arrange the terms of truce until a further workers' advance can be made. That is the tactic of Victory.

the greatest respect. For the sham effectiveness of the "charm" school in the workers' fight, we have more than usual concern. It is a symbol of the "powder-puffery" which is going about under the name of workers' education in many quarters. What workers educational institutions should put first and foremost in their curriculums is "harm"—harm to the Employing Interests. If no harm comes out of their efforts, to the enemies of the workers—then the effort is so much waste motion. And far worse: for it has taken the energies of certain workers away from their real job.

The first plank in the program of "Harm" to the Employers is: How to Organize. How to Educate the Unorganized. If Workers Education cannot answer that question, then workers education is a sad and dismal failure. Not Powder Puffs, but Puffs of Powder (figuratively speaking, necessarily) are the stuff of Workers Education. We hope that every workers class will follow the lead of the Philadelphia Labor College in going at the thing in that method and manner—only more so!

If such is done, it will not be many days before the group of workers in the educational effort will find themselves confronted with this problem of the form of organization. It should be one of the chief subjects in the curriculum: "How can we organize the unorganized in this particular plant or that particular plant, in our city or in our industry? What form of organization will put our message over effectively?" Coming at the

subject in a doctrinaire fashion will accomplish nothing. It must be approached pragmatically. Where possible, those in the class should make a real effort themselves, at getting over an educational message to the unorganized; after all, that being the best way to learn anything—through experience, aided by the light and leading of others.

That educational group which does this sort of work is of the greatest hope to the movement. If it does not do something like it, it is not worth the snap of our fingers, so far as the Movement is concerned. Ten thousand times as much education has come out of the Passaic strike—for everybody "implicated" in it—than out of all our "cultural" workers educational efforts put together.

A bureau of the A. F. of L. on Company Unionism and other Employers' devices is also in order. Not merely to get out the facts—but to make them vivid, make them living, and to stir the workers to use them to put the Employers to rout. One of the points this bureau must necessarily consider in time is not merely how far the Company Unions fail to satisfy the workers. It must go much further than that, and discover: What is the Antidote? What Form of Organization and What Methods Will Upset the Company Schemes? These are questions, by no means unanswerable, posed by the Employers, with their multifold bureaus, publicity agencies and anti-union enterprises.

# What of Union Management Cooperation?

*A Word in Its Favor*

By ISRAEL MUFSON

## CLASS COLLABORATION?

*It is a mistaken notion of some folks that Union-Management Cooperation is a question of interest only to railroad workers. Nothing could be more erroneous. In some form or other, it exists in a number of other industries, notably in the men's clothing trade. It is up for discussion in a number of others. It is of concern to all. Brother Mufson is rather sympathetic with the idea. In our next issue, we shall hear from some one who is strongly opposed to it, and further issues will note the extent of this new device in various branches of industry.*

“**M**UDDLING through” has become so famous a mode of behavior that now, when the pendulum is swinging in the opposite direction—in the direction of scientific investigation and of factual responsibility, we raise a questioning eyebrow not only in interrogation but also in suspicion. For thousands of years mankind has been in the habit of working on the formula: “Sufficient unto the day.” And when it is taken up by the slack of its pants rather abruptly and warned that there is a tomorrow; that it would be well to look into ways and means of making that tomorrow a little more pleasant by getting all this day's facts, we not only do not like it—we resent it most spitefully. Verily, one's habits do not only become one's handmaid but one's pitfall as well.

“Muddling through” has caught everyone in its toils. Even the most belligerent radicals, and especially those, though they may see the tomorrow radiantly enfolding a society satisfied and happy beyond measure and understanding, have not much patience with the steps towards such a delightful attainment. Steps are after all steps. Many times they are crooked and their end beyond view. It is much pleasanter to contemplate the upper landing at one leap. If that leap is too great and those attempting it may suddenly find themselves precipitated into the cellar, the hope is that they'll muddle through somehow.

To illustrate the point a story is in order. Some years ago a very hot Socialist had a hotter argument with an editor of a small town paper. Exactly what the argument was about cannot be recalled at this moment. It may have been about the taking over by the municipality of the private water works or gas works. At any rate the editor was skeptical as to the manner of its accomplishment. But the Socialist had the answer ready and concise. “Where there is a will there is a way,” he confi-

dently replied and strutted off thoroughly satisfied that he had put the editor in his proper cubby-hole. Today, when confronted with the same question, the Socialist would take pencil and paper and figure bond issues, sinking funds, costs, rates, etc., not only to establish the will but to enlighten the way. In the matter of the smaller problems we have already learned to plan the way through. In the realm of the more complex issues there is still great faith in slogans and in the old, formula of “muddling through.”

## “Class Collaboration”?

It is this attitude of placing all our eggs in the “muddle through” basket which is responsible for much of the hostility from many sources about any scheme involving union-management cooperation. It is the fondness for phrases which every muddler delights in, which caused the ubiquitous and busy members of the Comintern to christen such plan “class collaboration,” a stamp of uncleanness which immediately warns every follower of the true faith not to touch it with a ten foot pole. Equally hostile are the common-garden run of workers and for a like reason, though secondary ones also exist. In both instances opposition to a plan of cooperation is bred from a dread of application and effort necessary to blueprint a vision through the processes towards its attainment. Whether the end be the cooperative commonwealth or just merely an increase in wages and whether the weapons be a revolution or a strike, both extremes find satisfaction in unplanned force rather than in determined fact and expose a passion for muddling through rather than for seeing it through. Not that revolutions and strikes are not weapons of utmost utility in the hands of the workers. More times than are convenient or profitable, they are the only resort for an oppressed people and exploited workers. Especially the strike is today still the most formidable weapon in the hands of the labor movement. But to make a fetch out of them—to idolize them as the twin gods of class consciousness, and to look with scornful contempt at any plan which may bring about the desired result in a more certain and orderly fashion, is to lose sight of the end in the means and to hold on to shibboleths for the sake of their sounds.

To any close observer, a union-management cooperation plan is merely an extension of the power of collective bargaining and a direct move towards industrial democracy. Unless we are to accept the union idealism of the I. W. W. and renounce any agreement between workers and management as class collaboration, we must conclude that the new way is a more scientific approach

on the part of trade unionism in its dealings with the employer. The universal method at present is for the business agent to call a meeting of the members and to ask them what they think they ought to demand at the expiration of their agreement. Or what is more likely, a committee has been delegated to draw up a list of such demands and it is read to the membership for its approval. The list contains many items the union knows it cannot obtain, some it hopes to have granted and the rest it is determined to get. The negotiating committee or business agent, or whatever agency the union uses for such purposes, presents these demands to the management and the bargaining begins. In most instance the union makes no attempt to ascertain the condition of the industry in general and of its own plant in particular. At best it has only a superficial acquaintance with the financial situation of the plant, a mass of second hand rumors to direct its course and the threat of force, its *bete noir*, as a last resort. The negotiating agency may ask too much or too little. It is entirely a hit or miss proposition. No thought is given at all to the internal status of the industry; to its wastes and antiquated methods; to laborious tasks that could be lightened by the use of some research and a little sense and to needless, uncomfortable routine that if eliminated would take with it much irritation and discomfort.

#### Two Ways of Doing It

Across the table the union representatives and management bluff and bluster and threaten. One side is trying to get all it can. The other side is holding on with grim determination, giving inch by inch and sometimes measuring its benevolency by the sixteenth of an inch. In the end an agreement is reached. Whatever the men get, only the management knows how much further the union could have gone had it had the opportunity to study the industry and the facts about it. One side has the information, is thoroughly equipped with knowledge about every phase of its environment, with statistical data and information. The other side approaches the problem with a will but its way is obstructed by ignorance, lack of responsibility and inability to get close enough to the issues confronting it.

The next step in collective bargaining, the union-management cooperative step, envisages the situation in a more scientific and less haphazard manner. The men who no longer depend entirely upon annual agreements for improvements in their wages and working conditions. Their concern about their industry and its rewards starts from the very day of their employment. Monthly, or at any other period, by agreement, they send their representatives to conference with the management. The workers are given an opportunity to study their jobs and to suggest methods for improvements and waste elimination. The condition of their industry and its finances is charted for them by experts in their employ and of their own choosing. They no longer must rely upon guess work and rumor in meeting their problems but have the facts, as many and as accurate as has the management, with which to guide their bargaining. They become a cogent factor in the management of the industry. Instead of being considered only as part of the

machinery of production they are, under the new method of collective bargaining, assuming positions of direction and responsibility. The results immediately translate themselves in better work, more pleasant working conditions, and finally in higher wages.

There is no fun in continuously piling up higher wages upon higher prices and higher prices upon higher wages. The real gain to workers through such a process is problematical if not already entirely discounted. So economists and labor have been turning to sources within the industry itself from which gains could be made without piling up further burdens on the consumers. "A more promising source of advancing wages," says Hamilton and May in *THE CONTROL OF WAGES*, "is to be found in the technical processes which make up industry. The attempt to increase wages at the expense of the surrounding incomes soon encounters definite limits." So they suggest that: "The 'established order' of nearly every plant can be improved." The union-management cooperation plan is the very vehicle through which such rearrangement can be affected for the benefit of the workers. Management alone cannot understand the many sources through which savings can be instituted. Without the help of labor there can be no hope of stopping up the hole through which real wealth is now wastefully flowing that could be used otherwise for the betterment of the workers. In no other way than through some form of cooperative effort can labor hope to obtain accrued benefits from industry. By aloofness, resistance and antagonisms only greater wastefulness will result.

#### Seven Requirements of Plan

Since the union-management cooperative plan was originated by Mr. Otto Beyer, and since it is being evolved and perfected under his direction, any discussion of this new union policy must give some space to the author's ideas about it and the results of its application in the industry where it is first being tried.

"Union-management cooperation in the railroad industry," says Mr. Beyer, "must meet seven basic requirements. These are:

1. Full and cordial recognition of the standard unions as the properly accredited agents to represent railroad employees with management.
2. Acceptance by management of the standard unions as helpful, necessary, and constructive in the conduct of the railroad industry.
3. Development between unions and management of written agreements governing wages, working conditions and the prompt and orderly adjustment of disputes.
4. Systematic cooperation between unions and management for improved railroad service and elimination of waste.
5. Stabilization of employment.
6. Measuring, visualizing and sharing fairly the gains of cooperation.
7. Perfection of definite joint union-management administrative machinery to promote cooperative effort."

With these basic requirements established the shop cooperative committees start functioning and here is what they discuss:

## LABOR AGE

1. Job analysis and standardization.
2. Improving tools and equipment.
3. Proper storage, care and delivery of material.
4. Economical use of supplies and material.
5. Proper balancing of forces and work in shops.
6. Coordinating and scheduling of work through shops.
7. Training apprentices.
8. Recruiting new employees.
9. Improving quality of work.
10. Condition of shops and shop grounds, especially in respect to heating, lighting, ventilation and safety.
11. Securing new business for the railroad.
12. Securing new work for the shops.
13. Measuring output.
14. Stabilizing employment.

Here is the working man going to school and learning the most essential process of living. He is acquiring a responsibility that is sobering in its effect and assuming a new dignity through such responsibility. What if everywhere, in every organized industry, labor were to sit down in like manner and collectively work out its destiny by approaching its problems on a fact finding basis? One can see the whole temper of labor and its movement becoming more earnest, more learned and better equipped for the final rearrangement of the entire industrial order.

This plan, therefore, is not only an extension of the power of collective bargaining. It is even more than that. It is enabling the worker to get an insight into the machinery of industrial productivity. At the same time it is teaching management to work with the men, a lesson that may be of utmost significance at some future time when the question of ownership will be more vigorously challenged. Management is continually hampered by the limitations placed on it by absentee ownership. Its plans for the scientific conduct of industry are being frustrated by the financial schemes which have nothing in common with proper methods of production. But in the past labor also has been a sort of absentee source of irritation to the management. It has kept outside of any responsibility and only drew near enough to it to present its demands periodically.

### Peaceful Ownership Transition

Under the union-management cooperative plan management is made to see that labor desires to take and is taking a keen interest in the conduct of the industry. That it has, by virtue of its constant contact, a very important contribution to make towards its efficient functioning. And in the needed hour, when the question of ownership will be in the balance, it will not be so difficult for the workers to effect an agreement with man-

## WHAT'S RIGHT WITH THIS PICTURE?



Draw your own conclusions! The New York Times gives the picture, as a horrible indication of the widespread organization of criminals. It titles the cartoon: "Big Business." Well-named, say we. Let us start our war on crime with the biggest of criminals—Big Biz itself.

agement rather than have capital and management in close alliance. Would it not be much better to make the change in that manner—a peaceful transition made possible by evolutionary preparation—rather than in the manner made obligatory during the Russian Revolution? There management balked and though shop committees were found to be very democratic, they were a highly inefficient crew to run industry with.

Can we take a leaf out of the Russian Revolution and prepare more thoroughly for the day of change, or must we, in order to keep our revolutionary togas unsmirched, hold aloof until the day of doom and then hope to muddle through in the best manner possible?

P.S.: I studiously avoided paying too much attention to any specific union-management cooperative plan because my primary intention was to discuss the idea as to a general proposition. I presented as much of Mr. Beyer's plan as I thought necessary to show its general possibilities. If there are weaknesses in his specific plan, the problem is not settled by smearing it all over with great, big letters "CLASS COLLABORATION—KEEP AWAY" but in further studying it, eliminating its weak parts, if any, and in elaborating on the good features until it becomes a powerful instrument in the hands of labor.

### ADVANTAGES VS. DISADVANTAGES

Brother Mufson's able article was weakened, rather than otherwise, by his references to the Comintern. Unity demands we overlook doctrinal differences on such a subject. From a strictly trade union viewpoint, there are disadvantages in any "cooperation" plan. The Question is: Do they outweigh the advantages?

# Brookwood's Pages

## *A Consideration of the Wage Problem*

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

### I. LABOR'S USE FOR ECONOMICS

*Comments on Hamilton & May, Chapters I-III.*

AS long as untaken natural resources were abundant and the population was relatively small, little thought was given to problems of economic utilization of resources, and little interest was manifested in the study of Economics. It is only a short time since business men began seriously to take up the study of Economics as a part of business training. Naturally Labor, not having any recognized responsibility for the conduct of industry, and not having the leisure and means for elaborate education, was even slower to become impressed with the necessity of making a systematic study of the processes of livelihood.

Now, however, that there is a permanent wage-earning class in the United States,—a class that is beginning to recognize its own permanence,—and that questions of wages and their purchasing power have become the bases of life for increasing numbers, Labor is becoming convinced of the need of grasping the situation in a realistic way, with some view to long-run results. Labor under the present system is, in fact, a commodity, and its prospects depend upon making itself a more valuable commodity or upon changing the system, neither of which things can be done without the spread of economic intelligence among the workers.

For a long time, economic conditions were supposed to be the result of some sort of "natural law" which could not be controlled. Wages were presumed to result from the supply of, and the demand for, labor; and supply and demand were supposed to be fixed quantities, mere numbers, which when put together gave the result. This view was very serviceable as proving that whatever is must be. Now, however, we have come to realize that supply and demand are themselves variable quantities, depending on everything in the whole system of business and industry; so that to pass the buck to "Supply and Demand" is just a dignified way of professing ignorance. If, however, Labor will take the pains to analyze the whole industrial and business structure so as to understand what makes supply and demand what they are, there is good prospect that Labor will be able to take a hand in the total situation in such a way as to influence supply and demand by its own strategy. In general we see that the whole process of livelihood is governed indeed by "natural laws," but that a knowledge of these natural laws makes possible the control of economic life, just as it makes possible the control of chemical and physical materials to suit human purposes.

We are confronted thus with a very complex problem, involving in particular the whole problem of individual and group behavior and the methods of controlling them

to general advantage. In order to deal adequately with its problems, Labor needs to master every department of knowledge having to do with human relations.

As for the possibility of increasing the real income of Labor, in the sense of giving to the worker more of the material things that money will buy, there are obviously two main lines of approach. 1. The possibility of getting something away from other classes in society; 2. The possibility of so increasing output that, without changing materially the proportions going to Labor and to Capital, the income of the workers might be considerably increased. We ought to find out which of these methods offers the proper line of approach.

### II. SOME SOURCES OF LABOR INCOME

*Hamilton & May, Chapters IV-V*

HERETO, Labor in its wage demands has ordinarily confined itself to mere pressure on the employer; but it is now coming to be seen that (except in cases where it is worth while to drive an employer out of business) Labor needs to know, and be able to show, where the increase is to come from. There are several sources to be investigated.

A wage increase may be charged to the consumer; and there are undoubtedly cases in which such a recourse would be fair and just; but on the whole to pass the burden to the consumer is a makeshift, and if generally resorted to would throw a great part of the burden back on Labor, since each group of workers is a purchaser of the products of the other groups.

An attack may be made on profits (the amount left over after the business has paid rent, interest, and wages of management, which must properly be charged against the enterprise even though the investment is all the property of an owner who runs his own business.) Profits in this sense constitute the gambler's winnings, which must be allowed for so long as we leave the economic system to run hit or miss under the stimulus of the profit motive. It is to be observed, however, that there can be no net profit for the economic system as a whole, because gamblers' winnings always equal other gamblers' losses. If we were to manage regularly to confiscate the winnings, the system could not continue to run. It might be possible in particular instances for the workers to make inroads on the profits of a lucky concern, but Labor would not, in most concerns and over a period of years good and bad, be able to add to its income by annexing profits, even if the bargaining power of Labor were high. Until we are ready to provide some other incentive and some other control than that which prevails under the "profit system," we shall

## PULLMAN PIRACY

**F**ROM Chicago the WALL STREET JOURNAL of August 20th, reports tidings of great joy. "Record earnings made it practically certain," says its dispatch, "that Pullman Company's revenue and net after taxes from sleeping car and auxiliary operations during the fiscal year ended July 31 last reached new high marks. June figures brought revenues for the first 11 months of the fiscal year to \$74,654,133, against \$68,735,392 the corresponding period of the preceding year."

*This is the company which forces its porters and maids to work for the magnificent sum of \$75.00 per month, and to submit to all sorts of petty tyrannies. We submit that the directors of the Pullman Co. are master criminals of the most vicious type, who should be treated speedily as such. Page the various and sundry Crime Commissions!*

have to look elsewhere on the average for increments to wages.

As for interest, we do not need to assume that it will always go to private owners, but industry will always have to yield a fund that can not go into the pay envelop but must be used for extension and improvement. So long as we leave these matters in the hands of private individuals, we shall have to allow the wherewithal (interest) to pass into their hands. What we call interest is, if not always a fund certain of reinvestment, at any rate an incentive held out to procure investment. It may be that prevailing rates are higher than necessary, but there is no reason to suppose that Labor can, while retaining the capitalist system, improve its income very greatly by inroads on interest charges.

Rents and royalties differ from interest in that they are payment for natural resources, which were not created by the owners and which would not cease to exist even if payments to landlords stopped. Very probably the possibility of interest on other forms of investment would be sufficient incentive to savers, even though investment in natural resources were cut off. If any inroads are to be made into rent, however, they can hardly be made as a rule by a group of workers acting for themselves; or at least the major problem would be one for political action. It is to be remembered, too, that rents and royalties are a smaller item in the distribution of income than is ordinarily supposed by persons whose imagination is captivated by the power that would seem to go with monopoly of natural resources.

There remains the question of high salaries. It is quite probable that American business supports too large an administrative staff and that the salaries of those in high position run too high (higher, that is, than is necessary to procure a requisite supply of executive ability.) It is very likely, too, that greater equalization of training would tend to equalization of pay by lifting many from lower to higher grades of ability. If, however, all large salaries were wiped out and the money used to improve wages, the total effect would be very slight.

The fact of the matter is that the present annual yield in the United States would not be any more than enough to give the population a decent level of subsistence according to what are called "American standards" even if the product were divided with the utmost fairness; and no other important country is so well off. For the world as a whole it is absolutely not true that "enough is produced if only it were fairly distributed;" and

even for the United States a fairer distribution of the present annual output of industry would give no more than a slight breathing spell to the workers. In a very short time they would be used to the increment and would not regard their material position as appreciably improved.

The large hope of Labor, therefore, lies in increase of Production. Very likely no satisfying headway can be made in that direction under the present system, with its inequalities of wealth and income and its depleted purchasing power which leaves the markets glutted, not to speak of the universal sense of grievance that cuts efficiency. That is, improvement of distribution of income is necessary as a means to a better spirit toward work and a spread of purchasing power that will provide a market adequate to keep the wheels turning. The requisite increase of productivity waits on the attainment of an approximation to justice in sharing the product.

Thus whatever emphasis is laid on Production is not to be construed as an appeal for loyalty to the boss or the system. It is simply a recognition of the problem that would be central under any economic system that we can contemplate as far ahead as we can look. Moreover the stressing of efficiency in production does not mean an effort to change the individual worker's efficiency, or even the quality of the group, so much as it does an attempt to achieve a more effective planning and administration of work so that the inefficiencies that are not a part of labor's performance may be eliminated.

At this point it appears that Labor has a common interest with the technician (and conceivably even with management) as against absentee property interests. Sooner or later these functional elements in industry must get together, and if the rigging of the present system in the interest of ownership as against workmanship prevents, then so much the worse for the system.

Meanwhile it is of course not to be supposed that mere increase of output, even if made possible by specific co-operation of Labor, will automatically extend to Labor the resulting benefits. It may, however, be supposed that if Labor is intelligent and coherent enough to put through the production program it will hardly be so stupid and futile as to fail to annex for itself a considerable share of the benefit. When it comes time to put in such claims we shall have the test of the soundness of the arguments of those that advocate union-management co-operation.

## HE DIDN'T KNOW HOW TO SAVE!

Brothers, What Are You Going to Do About It?

**H**E is an old man, no longer a factor in the business of Life. Poverty is his lot; the almshouse his home. There is a moral in his fate. Someday "he" may be you or I or anyone of us. Ninety five per cent of the people are financial failures at 65. It is the working folks who make up the large portion of that amount.

We have chosen the picture from a booklet issued by the Prudential Life Insurance Company. Strange selection, eh? And from a strange source. The booklet is entitled "The Four Horsemen of Poverty". It is this booklet which is responsible for the statement about the 95 per cent.

It asks us all point blank the question: "Will you be a failure?" And it answers that "We think you will.... Only five out of 100 will be rich. The percentage is decidedly against you." Having encouraged us with that hopeful prophecy, it urges us to stave off the evil day by investing in Prudential stocks and bonds. It warms us up to do this through 28 beautiful pages of printer's art, showing the repulsive ugliness of poverty and the joy of escaping it through Prudential investments.

Is there any hope along that path for the workers, brothers? We think not—emphatically not! Dr. Ripley has given us some insight into the business of investment. There is a hazard, we may add, not merely in investment control—which never falls into the workers' hands, you can wager—but also in the uncertainty that must always hinge around the entire business of living. And more: when are the workers assured the wages to make savings of 100 per cent protection against dependence in old age? When have they enough, in many industries, to make those investments to any such degree that they can make them the source of their livelihood in after-life?

We suggest a sounder remedy—one that comes from the organized workers themselves. It is: that the State and Industry make certain of the workers' future. No such uncertainties as surround investments surround the social investment of Old Age Pensions. It is the certain escape from the chief peril of the oncoming years—dependent poverty.

Savings are often won at the expense of much finer things in life than the mere possession of

money. The Prudential attempts to prove that a man's poverty in old age is due to his own fault. That is a subtle lie. There are social savings which take men's money—education for themselves and children, the attempt to secure some of the beauty in life, the delight of a lazy day voluntarily taken off. These are much more worth while than a mere roll of money in a bank. Beyond that: There lie sickness and the other fluctuations of existence, against which no man can be prepared.

Having given his best years to Industry and Society, it is up to them to provide for him the pre-

paration and protection. At the present hour they throw the dependent worker—as a worn-out iron on a scrap-heap — into our vile almshouses, away from old surroundings, frequently separated from his life companion.

The movement to destroy the almshouse is gradually gaining force—led off by the Organized Labor Movement. Five states (and Alaska) have enacted some form of old age pension legislation: Alaska, 1915; Montana, Nevada, and Pennsylvania, 1923; Wisconsin, 1925; Kentucky, 1926.

The usually corrupt judiciary in Pennsylvania declared the law in that state unconstitutional, at the behest of the manufacturing interests. The effort to amend the state constitution, now on foot, is being fought tooth and nail by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce. Making a general and stupid attack upon the meas-

ure, the C. of C. fell afoul of hard facts. The Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, headed by President James H. Maurer of the State Federation of Labor, and manned professionally by Dr. A. Epstein, has brought out the startling information that the cost of such "relief" would be but \$5,000,000 per year. This is a per capita cost to each citizen, of but 57 cents a year. It is \$3,000,000 per annum less than the present rotten almshouse system costs—and would take care of three times the number of folks the almshouses care for.

Next year—1927—is a big year among the state legislatures. Nearly every one of them meet. Let us all, in our respective commonwealths, strike hard for an adequate and decent old age pension system.



THE DIGNITY OF LABOR IS ITS MIGHT!

EDUCATE  
THE  
UNORGANIZED!



UNITY  
AND  
MILITANCY  
WILL  
WIN!

*Courtesy Workers Health Bureau Calendar*

# Patching Up Company Unions

*Under Fire, Employers Try to Stave Off Real Organization*

By ROBERT W. DUNN

IT TELLS!

*Mr. Dunn's account indicates a thing or two. It shows that the new campaign against Company Unionism has begun to tell. Half of what could be done has not yet been done, and yet the boys at the helm of the Company Unions are having a hard time, steering them. The following story would not be complete without the reminder to you to help the men and women at Passaic, who have done so much to smash this piece of fakery. The relief committee address is still 743 Main Avenue, Passaic, N. J.*

**A**LTERATIONS and modifications of company unions seem to be the order of the day. These works councils, employee representation plans and shop conferences which we generally describe under the heading "company union", are, as we have pointed out before in *LABOR AGE*, fairly collapsible houses. They are held in place with welfare paste and paternalistic props of one kind or another. They may be wiped out completely at the whim of the employer. And they can always allow for a few changes—for the propaganda value involved.

A number of recent changes in the structure and practice of specific company unions will illustrate the point. It will be noted that in every case some trade union pressure of influence lay behind the change. Take first Mr. Julius Forstmann, the Passaic Croesus, who still refuses in haughty Prussian manner to recognize our American methods of collective bargaining. He thought he had a very nice and altogether tidy and safe company union in his worsted mills. But the present textile strike has washed a great deal of the varnish off his plaything and left it standing before the workers a somewhat unseemly spectacle to the eye. Worker after worker who suffered under the refinements of tyranny imposed through this company union have made affidavits as to its essential purpose and practice. The old agency of deception has received a thoroughly black eye. So Mr. Forstmann is putting on some improvements. They are heralded abroad by the press as though they were huge and material concessions on the part of trade union-hater Forstmann.

What has Mr. Forstmann done? First he has said that he will permit his committee or "representative assembly", as he calls it, (see *LABOR AGE*, July, 1926) to be composed only of delegates elected by the workers from the various mill sections or wards. This is substitution for the old joint conference idea under which Mr. Forstmann permitted his workers to select 53 while Mr. Forstmann selected 53 (overseers, bosses and section hands) to speak for management at the quarterly meetings of the company union.

Mr. Forstmann Gets an Idea

What Mr. Forstmann now proposes so generously is nothing but another, and an older form, of company union. You don't need to have the "joint idea" to make it a company union. Some of the most autocratic company unions have been composed wholly of "elected" representatives. Elected suckers in fact are often as reachable as appointed ones and often more so. The control is just as effectively in the hands of management. And the machinery is not nearly so cumbersome. The essential company union features remain and every criticism we level against the company union still remains valid and pertinent. The personnel manager still runs the whole show; the docket committee—appointed by management to pass on all grievances—remains. The farce in no whit whiter or cleaner.

The fundamental shortcomings and defects of the company union are not to be removed by such superficial maneuverings, such apparent "democratization" of the slave machine. Mr. Forstmann's move tells us only one thing—that the textile strikers are pressing him mighty hard and he's even afraid his scabs may join the walk-out. Therefore he pulls the wool one layer deeper over the eyes of the non-strikers.

But Mr. Forstmann has another frill to offer, something that sounds even more impressive than the abolition of the appointed delegates to the "general assembly". He is going to step aside from his position as absolute Mussolini. He is going to yield a point which, to be sure, most company unions yield at their inception. He will permit a "permanent mediation committee" of three "impartial citizens" to compose all differences that cannot be settled between him and his hand-selected union. Again this "impartial citizens" device is nothing new in the company union field. It can be duplicated in every industry. It works very well indeed especially if the citizens are acceptable to Mr. Forstmann and those who are now scabbing in his mills. One of these citizens, the only one of the three who has not served on the strike-breaking Citizens Committee in Passaic, has declined the "honor". Mr. Forstmann is now looking about for some foe of union labor to take his place.

So much for company union embellishments and alternations in Passaic, and it needs no profound imagination to figure out why they have been added. The Passaic strike has brought them about, the same strike that has brought about the affiliation of Mr. Forstmann's striking workers with the American Federation of Labor. Let us now consider the Pullman Company which has also had a very "delicate situation" on its hands. It will be remembered how the Pullman Company introduced the company union for its porters and any other workers it could force to accept it some six years ago. The Pull-

man conductors, it will be recalled, rejected the employee representation plan and formed a union of their own and immediately doubled their wages. But the porters were, at that time, not so fortunate. They had to buckle under. Later, about a year ago, some of the bolder spirits began to organize themselves in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In a frenzy of fear and to head off the independent union the Pullman Company called its hand-picked "representatives" into conference last January and permitted them, after much prayer and formality, to vote the porters an 8 per cent increase in wages. This wage increase, and a few miscellaneous petty improvements, convinced a few of the blind Uncle Tom porters that the "plan" was still functioning in their interest. But the mass of the porters were not to be halted. They continued to pile into the new porters union.

### Quackery Begins to Creak

They piled in so fast that the company union machinery again began to creak. Again the company rushes forth to prop it up a bit. It places on the Bureau of Industrial Relations, whose 11 members have heretofore been company executives appointed by the President, one lonely negro "company man". This move is intended to inspire confidence in the Plan. The presence of one colored brother on the board is expected to resell the Plan to the doubting porters. But even if by some miracle he were altogether straight, and a trade union supporter himself, this solitary porter would have just one vote against 10 company votes in deciding the grievances that come up to this highest court of appeal from the local and "zone general" committees. So this latest piece of subterfuge will fool the porters no more than did the wage concession last January or the other eleventh hour moves of the company to popularize its discredited employee representation machinery.

It will be noted that the improvements above mentioned in both the Passaic and the Pullman Company unions were made as the result of trade union pressure upon the masses. In both cases the company alarmed at the advancing wave of trade unionism, hastened to add a democratic touch of varnish to its company union edifice. But it would seem that in both cases the alterations were made a trifle too late to deceive the workers.

Now consider a somewhat different set of circumstances, surrounding the company union on the lines of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company in New York (see *LABOR AGE*, August, 1926). Here the modifications that came about in the procedure and practices of the company "Brotherhood" during the strike, chiefly of motormen and conductors, on the subway last July, were due to apprehension and fear that the "Brotherhood" locals would get out of hand, and all bolt company control. Consequently the constitution of the "Brotherhood", as it stood, was violated in the interest of safety, strike-breaking and the greater glory of Frank Hedley. The company union dues permitted their own constitution to be violated before their eyes.

After all, what is a constitution when the very life of the company union is at stake! The company made a scrap of paper out of it for the period of the strike in order to save the machinery and to "protect" the "loyal

workers" who stood by it and refused to join the "outlaw strike". During the emergency the "General Committee" of the "Brotherhood" called off all regular and special meetings of the various company union locals. They also agree for a time to hold all company union local membership meetings on company property lest a meeting held beyond the range of Mr. Hedley's apron strings might be captured by the insurgent strikers. The company union "delegates" also permitted themselves to be used as official propaganda carriers for the company. They assisted in circulating various whispered lies that helped the "outlaw strike".

It would seem unnecessary to devote so much time to such incidents except to indicate how clearly they illustrate the plasticity of the company unions in the hands of the owners of industry. It is clear in the above incidents that the boss can always do with the company union as he pleases. He can change its platform, principles and practices to suit his will and the emergencies of the situation as he sees them. But he usually doesn't think of changing them unless, and until, there is a definite and healthy threat of trade unionism around the corner. This was certainly the case on the Interborough whose workers had been droning along in the suffocating atmosphere of the "Brotherhood" for nearly ten years. It was only when a few militants woke up to the impotency of their company union instrument and the desirability of creating real trade unionism that the company was inspired to make some drastic changes in company union procedure.

### Trade Union Pressure Felt

Not only do the additional touches to company unions come as the result of trade union pressure. The company unions themselves are, in many instances, the direct outgrowth of the fears aroused in managerial circles by trade union activity. The company is often moved to consider adopting a company union only when some "outside organization" begins trying to organize the workers. It is then that the company suddenly become conscious that a "new medium of communication between men and management should be introduced and that "some machinery to solve the frictions and irritations of everyday life in the plant should be established." In other words that some mode of procedure for settling workers' grievances should be created or else the management will be faced with the unfortunate necessity of recognizing and dealing with one of those "foreign inventions"—the trade union. That is the common reasoning of the employer.

We find a situation of this kind close to hand in the case of the workers in the Raritan Copper Works of Perth Amboy, N. J. The moment the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers hove on the horizon at Perth Amboy the company proceeded (in addition to attempting to prevent meetings through police activity and by the deportation of organizers from the city) to construct a company union. Whereupon the union above mentioned issued a mimeographed handbill which read in part as follows:

"When all the attempts of the employers to prevent the workers from organizing turn out to be failures, they try the other trick. They form 'company unions'. They tell

# A TYPICAL MEETING OF THE SHOP COMMITTEE (COMPANY UNION)



WELL, WELL, THE COMPANY UNION

Crudely but correctly, this cartoon exposes the truth concerning the boss-controlled "unions". It is taken from a little paper distributed to Westinghouse employees in East Pittsburgh by a group under the leadership of James Otis, machinist.

the workers to elect someone from their department to represent them at a meeting with the company representatives present. These meetings are held every now and then to take up shop problem. The bosses try to impress the workers that the company union is just as good as the real bona fide union. Intelligent workers know that it is not. Company unions are organized by bosses. The constitutions and by-laws are prepared by the bosses beforehand. Sometimes the bosses plant men in various departments to represent the other workers at the meetings. In due time the workers will learn that their representatives are company men. This is the case in most every shop where the workers have fallen for the company union."

After this clear analysis of the meaning of the company union the Perth Amboy Local of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union goes on to show the very obvious limitations of the company union type of "legislation". They ask:

"What is taken up at these meetings? Are the questions of more wages, shorter hours, better working conditions,

taken up? They are taken up occasionally but never get anywhere. Sometimes the bosses tell the workers that they are losing money and in order for them to stay in business at all it will be necessary to cut wages and increase working hours. The workers' representatives at the same time urge the workers to accept the cut. This has been done in many factories with company unions. Instead of taking up questions that are of importance to the workers the company union is busy arranging picnics, outings, moonlight boat rides, football games and minstrel shows."

This circular shows a very clear understanding of the underlying motives of company unionism, as well as the technique of its operation. It might add the point we have been making in this article that once the company union is established, should it later be threatened with trade union advances, the company may be counted on to add as many new frills as will serve to keep the company unionized workers hypnotized and inoculated against the virus of real bona fide American trade unionism.

## CENTRAL BODY COOPERATION

We wish to mention, appreciatively, the increasing cooperation received from Central bodies in spreading the LABOR AGE idea. A full list of cooperating bodies will appear in our next number. It is of vital importance that others join in this effective fight against Open Shoppery.

# Our Minds and Behavior

## *Practical Thoughts From Psychology*

By ALEXANDER FICHANDLER

Dr. Fichandler, in this article and others that will follow, presents in article form for the first time the lectures which he has given to the classes of the I.L.G.W.U. They are a look-in at psychology from a labor viewpoint.

### MIND AND MACHINERY

**C**OMPARE the results achieved by human beings in handling machinery and in managing their minds. What a world of difference!

With modern machinery man can accomplish almost anything. He can produce things in any quantity and quality. The results can be practically 100 per cent of what he sets out to do.

It is quite different with the human mind. Generally, our judgment is unreliable. We can seldom be certain as to what to think and how to act under certain conditions. We make mistake upon mistake. In spite of our own experience and that of our forefathers, we muddle along in our personal, economic, social and political life.

And yet we could greatly improve our mental efficiency. If we but analyzed the methods used by those who are concerned with improving existing methods of making steel, building bridges, lighting our homes, speaking across long distances, crossing the ocean, turning the wheels of machinery, etc.

A great many of the methods employed by these men can be used by all of us in attempting to get the best out of the most wonderful machine in the world,—the human mind. We carry it around with us all of the time but abuse it most of the time. If we but applied some of these methods to our thinking and behaving, how much happier we would be!

### SUSPEND JUDGMENT

**F**ROM earliest childhood we are called upon constantly to make judgments. The question may be, which of several persons was right in a dispute, which of several plans proposed by different people is suitable, etc.

In such cases most people go off at half cock and make snap judgments.

What do scientists do?

They HOLD UP or SUSPEND their judgment before deciding.

But what do most of us do?

Somebody tells a bit of gossip about someone we know, or reports what seems to be an unworthy act on his part. Do we wait for proof? Do we ask the accused to state his story? As a rule we form a hasty judgment and denounce him without giving him a chance to defend himself.

We read a newspaper report describing an act of an individual or of a group, an act which horrifies us. It may tell of a man's base treatment of his wife or friend, or of a political treachery, or of an "atrocious" in a strike or a war,

or of a policy inaugurated by some government against the Church or property owned by foreigners, etc.

How many of us try to obtain a newspaper or magazine in which the party attacked or criticized presents its side of the question? And even if we have such a publication, how many read the other side? What happens generally is a violent condemnation based on a one-sided report without an attempt to discover the TRUTH.

A plan of action or a report on something or somebody is presented at a meeting by a person who, because of magnetism or popularity, generally carries the rank and file with him. How many of us wait for objections and criticisms, and weigh them carefully before voting in his support?

A leader is accused of "treason". His conduct at a critical moment seems incomprehensible. Only one explanation is possible,—"he sold out". In many cases this explanation is seized and he is crucified. Frequently, a little waiting would show that his actions were justified and that his motives were beyond reproach. Perhaps it would have been bad politics for him to reveal his reasons. Perhaps strategy compelled him to act as he did. But many a cause was lost, many a fine leader with a record of splendid service was discarded because the group did not suspend judgment and hear the other side.

There is a French saying, "To know all is to pardon all." How often do we find others condemning us for something we did, when we know that we were moved by the best of motives or were compelled to act as we did by forces beyond our control. Therefore, in ordinary fairness to others, we should wait with our verdict until we can discover the motives or the facts behind the deed. In courts of law, when a person is accused of crime, one of the most important questions to be answered is, What was the motive? One kind of motive will lead to prison, another to freedom.

Illustrations could be multiplied indefinitely, but there is no one among us who cannot furnish them from his own experience.

And so let us understand this clearly. We cannot form a correct decision unless we WAIT. We must hear ALL SIDES before making up our minds who or what is right.

SUSPEND YOUR JUDGMENT, if you want to get at the TRUTH.

### FACTS BEFORE OPINIONS

**C**ONSIDER this. We form opinions constantly. Between waking and sleeping time, we are constantly saying to ourselves, "This is right" or "This is wrong", "That is good" or "That is bad." And frequently we follow up such opinions with appropriate action.

What does the scientist do before deciding whether he will employ this or that method of mixing chemicals, using too's, applying power, etc.?

He sets himself down to find all the FACTS he can, bearing on the particular problem before him. He tries to discover what was actually done and how the thing actually worked previously. Only then does he proceed with his own experiment.

Unfortunately, very few of us follow this method in forming our opinions.

Many of us have definite opinions on all sorts of subjects, when we know nothing or practically nothing about them.

We have positive opinions on the proper way of bringing up children, managing a factory, conducting a strike, abolishing poverty, etc., when all we can base such opinions on are a few prejudices, some feelings and very little knowledge of the facts in the case.

This is curious. A person will not trust his sick automobile or dog to anyone who does not know the facts about the proper methods of curing either. He will seldom tell others what to do here unless he has handled automobiles or dogs himself and can base his suggestions on his own experience. But the same individual will not hesitate to utter opinions on subjects of which he is thoroughly ignorant.

#### GET THE FACTS

**T**HIS cannot be repeated too often. True, the world needs opinions, but these must be based on EXPERIENCE, and not on dreams and visions.

And it is also important to remember that opinions are valuable only in proportion to the number of facts on which they are based. An opinion based on only one experience may be good, but it is not as good as that which is based on more than one. The more corroborating facts, the more valuable is the opinion, and the more deserving it is of our thoughtful consideration, acceptance and following up with action.

In these days, when all sorts of grave problems confront us, we find solutions offered on all sides. Some of them are expressions of mere wishes. Some are based on faith, which after all, is nothing but a wish or aspiration which cannot be proved or argued. But few are based on actual experience.

Just now the prevalence of crime engages our attention. A number of opinions are offered as to the proper method of fighting the evil. Some suggest more religious education. Some suggest severe punishment for those who are caught violating the law.

These opinions would be worth something if they could be supported by facts. It happens that such facts can be discovered with comparative ease. In former times, there was a great deal of religious education and many crimes were punished by death. What was the effect of this on crime? The answer can be found in the pages of history. Opinions on this subject are valuable only if they are in harmony with that answer.

Again, solutions of the problem of capital and labor are offered by many who are quite confident of the correctness of their opinion. But in many cases we find that these solutions are based on self interest, vague dreams or impractical theories. The truth is that there have been struggles between those who own and those who work for a living ever since the human race was created. In each

#### MORE STANDARD OIL CO. DIVIDENDS

And Still That 20 Per Cent Wage Increase Demand Is Ignored.

**F**ROM the NEW YORK TIMES of June 17th, we quote:

"Dividend disbursements by the Standard Oil companies for the second quarter of 1926 will aggregate \$50,792,688, according to a compilation made by Carl H. Pforzheimer & Co. This is a new high record for any quarter except the first of 1913, when the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey made a special payment of \$39,335,362, representing distributions of money received from former subsidiary organizations in connection with the repayment of loans. . . . The largest payment (now) was made by the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, its distribution amounting to \$8,828,822 of which \$5,329,297 was on the common stock."

A good lump sum, we hold, for merely advancing capital and doing nothing. And at the same time, the workers out in Bayonne are being denied that 20 per cent wage increase demand. John the Baptist continues to be too ill to see them—an old trick of his. Probably he will see them later, when they strike and thus reveal again to the world his cheap hypocrisy.

case, history tells us what the grievance was, how each group tried to remedy it, what methods were used by both sides and what was the result. We know that human nature is about the same today as it was 3,600 years ago, and that under similar circumstances, human beings act today just about the same as their ancestors. Is it then too much to demand that when someone proposes a solution to this problem, he should at least cite a similar situation when such a solution worked successfully?

All this applies with equal force to opinions about persons and to personal relationships. At times we are asked to state our opinion about someone. "Is he reliable, honest, efficient? Should I employ him?" Justice demands that the answer should be given only after one knows the facts about the person in question. The more such facts, the better.

"I think he is honest" or "I think he is dishonest", are worthless. So is "I feel that he is reliable" or "I feel that he is unreliable." Unless one can say, "I think he is reliable because when he was asked to do this and this, he performed his job successfully," one should say NOTHING. A mere impression is unjust to both him who wants information and him who is under discussion.\*

And so, finally, FACTS BEFORE OPINIONS. Opinions without facts are worthless. Opinions based on MANY facts are useful and lead to intelligent action.

\*All this applies with even greater force to baseless opinions about people whose color, race or creed is different from ours. There is no one thing that produces so much discord, dissension and defeat, as racial or religious antagonism, based on nothing more substantial than prejudice or feeling.

## EDITORIALS OF THE MONTH

### Honorable Mention for July, August and September

**O**UR space is valuable. So many and stirring are current labor events that we have been forced to omit the Editorials of the Month feature from the last two issues. We cannot let the business go by in that wise, however. Therefore, we quote here briefly extracts from thoughtful editorials appearing in publications—in July, August and September.

#### JULY—WHO ARE THE REAL "REDS"?

(From the Catholic-Jesuit-weekly "America", July 31)

There was a time when the Jesuits were held responsible for every evil, from bad weather to the boll weevil. They still retain much of their prestige in wickedness, but the Communists, the Bolsheviks and other "Reds" are pressing them close. Now that we are entering upon an era of labor troubles, it is an easy solution to throw all the blame back to Trotsky and Lenin. That was done in England, it is being done in the present New York subway strike, and now the various "Citizens" and textile-mills committees are refusing to deal with the strikers in the Passaic textile district on the ground that the strike is founded on "communism".

We are growing wearied with these parrot-like accusations . . . . . Who, then, is the real, the pernicious "Red"? He is not the Communist, but the "good man" who goes to Church regularly, contributes to hospitals and homes for the orphan—and forgets the Ten Commandments and the natural law when he goes to his office.

#### AUGUST—SUCCESS OF THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS

(From the Liberal Party organ, "Toronto Daily Star", August 25)

On the 8th of February, 1924, Sir Henry Thornton in a speech delivered in Montreal said:

"If we are permitted to carry out as conscientiously and as honestly as lies within our capabilities the policies now governing the Canadian National Railway System, it will cease to become a burden upon the Canadian taxpayer, and in ten years it will be as efficient a railway system as there is in the world."

Since that speech was made the National Railway system has made a progress that nobody would then have believed possible.

At that time the road was only beginning to earn its operating costs. It is now showing a surplus of \$40,000,000 over the costs of operation.

It is now earning enough to pay the interest on all the borrowings which the government was required to pay to others on its behalf, and in addition to that will pay something of that interest owed to the government itself on railway debts, some of which date back to Confederation.

It was freely declared that there would be political interference—that it would be impossible to prevent it. But it has been prevented, and the nationalized railway system is flourishing.

It was declared also that it was impossible for a publicly owned service to be efficiently handled—that the workers for a railway publicly owned would never be as efficient as would the workers for a privately owned corporation. The answer to all this is before the country. No railway ever had more efficient service than the workers on the Canadian, National Railway system have given. It has been a splendid working organization. Never has there been a better. A fine spirit pervades the service, and it is giving the country railroading at its best.

#### SEPTEMBER—THE CURSE OF PRISON LABOR

(From St. Louis Post Dispatch, September 7)

The removal of 100 Missouri convicts from the coal mine at Lexington, Mo. was a proper move on the part of the State prison officials. It is unfortunate that this action came only on the heels of a protest by the United Mine Workers, and a threat by the State Federation of Labor leaders to take the matter into the courts.

There is nothing to be said in favor of using convict labor in an industry such as coal mining, which today is so greatly overmanned that the average soft coal miners of the Middle West now receive an inadequate gross annual living wage. . . .

Missouri's State penal institutions house several thousand criminals. Efficiency experts should devise plans to make them largely if not wholly self-supporting, inside this unit. No system of "farming" out prison labor under contract, or its use in occupations which compete with outside labor should be countenanced by State officials or the public.

Mention must be made of the painstakingly detailed account of the Passaic strike appearing in the CHRISTIAN CENTURY magazine. It is a record of a great industrial pitched battle that should be preserved, although here and there a slight tone of possible inter-labor bias creeps out, evidenced largely in adjectives. So rarely does a publication of its type give so freely of its time and thought to an issue of such moment as this Passaic fight that we feel deeply pleased at the action of the editors of this monthly in this particular instance.

We in the workers' camp have more sympathizers than we think. Let us but stand on our own feet, razz the life out of those in authority and clear the way for a real show-down, and an increasingly large group of friends will flock to us.

# The International Anarchy, 1904-1914

## *Militarist Maneuvers That Led Up to World War*

NEWS of what the Warmakers of the World are up to, comes from a most unexpected quarter. Marshal Ferdinand Foch, generalissimo of the Allied forces in the late "war to end war," is scarcely a fanatical pacifist, howling in the wilderness of European bayonets. He is one of the chief links in the warmaking machine.

In a series of newspaper interviews last month, around the time of the 12th anniversary of the beginning of the Great War, he opened up the picture of the new developments in warfare. It was "a picture of typhoon, poisoned air, quake and avalanche, fire and metal"—with men electrocuted through radio by "contact with the very air they breathe or stabbed by an invisible ray." (Magazine Section, NEW YORK TIMES, August 8, 1926).

Slowly, persistently, this death-dealing paralysis is again creeping over the nations. Many of us grown-ups are much like the boys, who are playing war under the window of the study where this is being written. They talk of "hating the Germans," "killing the Germans" and gloat over "sticking the guts out of a Hun." Poor little gunmen! Little do they know that our Economic Masters are preparing entirely new "enemies" for us workers to face, in the shambles of a few years from now.

Lately, a scholar has come to expose, painstakingly and from official documents, the hypocrisy of the old gibbering ape-men who plant the seeds which grow up into the poisonous weeds of War. No one who reads G. Lowes Dickinson's "THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHY, (1904-1914)" can fail to lose forever any illusions about the Romance of War. It is not romance; it is wholesale murder and banditry, in which millions of lives are imperiled for the enrichment of a few.

The whole business—of the 10 years before the last war and of the present years before the next war—are summed up in the following words:

"We will begin with the fact that States are armed. That this should be so seems to men so much a matter of course that it is difficult to find any one who will take seriously the idea that they need not be. But why are they armed? The usual reply is, for defense. The rejoinder lies close at hand, that, in that case, there is no need for any of them to be armed, since none of them has offensive purposes. But, in fact, each believes or fears that some other has such purposes. There thus develops the theory known as the 'balance of power.' States pursuing contrary aims will, it is urged, nevertheless not go to war if they are confronted by forces equal to their own. In that case, it is supposed, they will prefer to find some peaceful way of settling their differences."

But, and there is the rub:

"Each group aims at being sufficiently stronger than the other to dictate rather than to accept results. Thus both increase their armaments; rivalry, fear, and suspicion in-

crease with these; and war, in due time, is produced. . . . All history shows this, for every balance has ended in war."

Of the many examples quoted to show this—in the long and complicated series of intrigues and secret pacts for war that led up to the Tragedy of 1914—this one is sufficient: It is 1878. The Austrian Minister, Andrassy, is seeking to get Britain's O.K. to the Austrian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina—one of those acts in the Balkans which prepared the way for the Great War.

"The Russian-Turkish War, he urges, has disturbed the balance of power in favor of Russia and her Slav clients (particularly Bulgaria). . . . It is in the interest of Europe to create a counterbalance to this. The counterbalance should be the annexation of Bosnia by Austria-Hungary."

Now, in fact,

"The newly-liberated Bulgaria, instead of becoming a client State of Russia, became, in the next year or two, her enemy; and the acquisition by Austria-Hungary, thirty years later, of that full sovereignty over Bosnia which she was demanding in 1878 was one of the marked steps in the series of events which led to the Great War. Such is the comment of actual history on the argument of Andrassy."

When we get further into the business of how the powers maneuvered themselves into the line-up that led to the War, we see in all its sickening details that the whole machine of statesmanship and militarism is merely prepared for War. And that, a War dictated solely by self-interest.

Is it not surprising to learn, for example, that the British nation was much more friendly to the German-Austrian group up to 1904 than to its own allies after that date? The reason: England feared Russia in India, Persia and the East, and France in Africa—particularly in Egypt. It was even something more than a 50-50 deduction that she might actually ally herself with the German-Austrian group against the French-Russian alliance. Only did France and England come together when they saw it best to agree "that France should drop her opposition to the British theft of Egypt, while England should permit France to steal Morocco." As to Russia: Britain came to a friendly understanding there, when fear of the German building of the Bagdad Railroad (toward the Persian Gulf), united them against the new-found foe.

What a different account might History have given, had the Bagdad Railroad not been attempted, or had the French and British decided to fight it out in North Africa!

The French indictment of her future British ally, before 1904, runs in part like this (Dickinson's quotation from the Frenchman Pinon):

"England occupies Egypt, contrary to all right, and in spite of reiterated promises, refuses to evacuate it. She

## THE STOCK OWNERSHIP WART

**H**E who has sat smilingly by, taking in the high pressure "democracy" drivel of the Employing Interests, is in for a sad come-down. Employee stockownership, that much-advertised path to economic bliss, is not getting on. In the five years since American corporations began to push this idea among their workers, the latter have actually purchased less than one and one-half per cent of the outstanding stock of the nation's corporations. Leland Olds, economic editor of the Federated Press, is responsible for this statement. And he backs it up with the following figures, worthy of reproduction:

Employee	Em-	Shares	Approx.	Total
Stock-Ownership	ployees	Held	Value	Stock
Armour & Co....	40,000	70,000	\$ 6,562,500	4.4%
B'lyn-Man. Tran..	10,609	15,000	958,000	1.5
Bethlehem Steel..	9,609	35,540	3,554,000	1.3
B'lyn Edison Co..	910	9,112	1,389,500	1.2
Fleischmann Co.				
Elec. Storage Bat.	4,111	14,506	1,243,800	1.8
(yeast) .....	2,225	308,600	41,750,000	18.0
Gen. Motors Corp.	6,919	24,998	3,000,000	0.5

Employee	Em-	Shares	Approx.	Total
Stock-Ownership	ployees	Held	Value	Stock
Doherty & Co.				
(utility) .....	7,903	.....	6,753,582	..
Intl. Harv'ter Co.	13,500	140,000	14,000,000	8.6
Intl. Paper Co....	2,000	8,000	720,000	1.4
Lehigh Coal &				
Navigation ....	282	2,388	119,400	0.4
Lehigh Val. R.R..	2,111	10,599	959,000	0.9
N. Y. Central....	27,915	64,430	6,443,000	1.7
Penn. R.R.....	19,062	88,885	4,855,300	0.9
Public Serv. Cor-				
poration, N. J..	6,500	23,500	2,400,000	2.3
Radio Corp.				
of America ....	443	42,000	210,000	1.5
Stan. Oil of N. J..	16,385	884,002	40,000,000	3.2
Stan. Oil of Ind...	17,835	371,426	24,150,000	4.1
Stan. Oil of N. Y.	7,069	126,683	4,212,200	1.1
Swift & Co.....	15,500	200,000	20,000,000	13.3

Looking these figures in the face, Mr. Olds is justified in calling this much-boasted device a mere "wart" on capital.

creates everywhere obstacles to our explorers and traders. In Uganda she provokes the massacre of black Catholics who were under French protection. She labors to establish her protectorate in Morocco. . . . She has an agreement with Italy against us in the Mediterranean. She furnishes arms to all our enemies—Samory, Behanzin, Rabah. She incites the Siamese to resistance, and the Annamites to revolt (against the French). In all the Colon wars, in all the insurrections against France, we find the hand of England, her agents, her money."

Further, are not D'Annunzio's shoutings about Italian "honor" at the opening of the war the worst sort of claptrap, when the real facts are known? Italy, during the long period of scheming preceding the War, attempted to ally herself with almost any and every nation—hoping to jump on the side of the highest bidder, when the crucial time would come. As one example, at the same time that she had the alliance with Germany and Austria, pledging those nations secretly to war against France should France extend her Moroccan domains, she had a diametrically opposite secret treaty with France, dividing North Africa and guaranteeing the extension of French influence in Morocco in return for Italian advance in Tripoli!

But we cannot touch on one iota of the maggot-ridden mass of intrigue, scheming and double-dealing which brought on the War. Mr. Dickinson takes 500 pages in

which to expose it, step by step, from the national documents now at the world's disposal.

This is of great concern to workers the world over. They are the ones who are killed. We recommend this book (published by the Century Co.) to central bodies and local unions. The "war against war" is one of the vital items in Workers' Education.

Mr. Dickinson's conclusion drums itself into our ears and remains with us, as a challenge: "Among armed powers, pursuing objects that can only be gained by war and united in treaties directed against one another, there can be no peace. The history of Europe during the years we are considering is one long demonstration of this general truth." Relief cannot come from the Old Men or the Master Soldiers, out of this situation. It must come from the workers—from that "new world" which Mr. Dickinson sees "fermenting underneath the governing classes."

## CONVENTIONS HEAR BUDENZ

Company Unionism was raked over the coals by Budenz at the conventions of the United Textile Workers, Brotherhood of Railroad Signalmen and N. Y. State Federation of Labor this last month. His statements were so challenging they attracted much notice in the press. This fact-campaign will go even more aggressively.

# Following the Fight

*With Comment Thereon*

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

## OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—  
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

### THE UNION LABEL ON OUR THINKING

**M**ANY a man who would die for a cause finds it difficult to live for one. We believe some union men will bear us out in that thought.

The business of unionism is not merely the business of getting a card and paying dues at certain stated periods. That is a valuable thing to do; but much more is required. There must be the understanding that the Labor Movement is a glorious struggle for further freedom. In it we must do our part and share the common burden of spreading the gospel of our unorganized brethren.

Again: in the details of union organization itself, much more is to be desired than merely getting men out on strike. The whole play has to be carried through to the last act. The membership must be impregnated with the union spirit. They must understand that when the first union agreement is signed, the job has just begun.

At Passaic a striking example of this thing has come to pass. Young men and women from out of the mill strikers' ranks, have come to be excellent speakers and experienced executives. They can do this now, because they have something to say and something to do. The mass of the workers have come to have a religious devotion to the union idea. They have reached this state of mind because the Union has come to mean their all. In it are bound up their great hopes.

Through their large mass meetings, workers who went into the strike with practically no knowledge of English have learned to understand and to master the language. The long series of speeches that they have had, have given them, further, an insight into the textile industry, the forces back of it, and the relations of those forces to the cheap

politicians, chiefs of police and other like rubbish. The strike has been an extensive, effective course in workers education.

At the New York Federation of Labor convention, held last month at Niagara Falls, President James M. Lynch of the International Typographical Union, stressed the fact that kidding ourselves about having "great organizations" and doing "great things" will not win the fight for us. He alluded to the charges of slacking against the bricklayers made by C. D. Norman of the Building Trades Employers—and said that such an accusation must be answered. He stated that Labor was not making the most of the chances that it had to get its message across to the "public" and the unorganized.

It all comes back to the LABOR AGE idea. Nothing can be done right unless we believe in the task and have the knowledge to put it across. Belief in the Labor Movement arises from the understanding that it is more than a mere wages-and-hours movement; that it is a mighty test of strength with the Employers, in which the workers will demand more and more and more—of Freedom. Knowledge of the Movement, of the Enemies of the Movement, of the things to be done and not to be done is quickened out of actual experience. Start out to educate your unorganized fellows today—and in striving to find the things that will affect them, you learn much yourselves. The Missionary Spirit is the thing. It will force you and all of us to learn—in order to win others to the cause.

What we need today is not only a union card in our pockets but a union label on our thinking.

### SALEM'S C. L. U. TELLS THE NEWSPAPERS

**N**O word in the English language—or in any other language—has so much good in it for Labor as the verb "to do". As old Thomas Carlyle says, it waters the Tree of Life.

When one man or group Do something for the common cause, others are encouraged. They step forward to Do likewise.

The Central Body of Salem, Mass., is DOING things. They are telling their story to the newspapers. They are making news. They are holding meetings, at which Com-

pany Unionism is attacked with the facts—and these facts are duly reported in the columns of the local press.

Secretary C. W. Fitzgerald of the Salem body forwards us a clipping from the SALEM EVENING NEWS of August 16th, in which prominence is given to the attack on Company Unionism, made by President Roy W. Canney at the previous meeting of the organization. Says Brother Fitzgerald:

"The enclosed clipping, somewhat delayed, is an attempt to obey the request on the last page of the August issue of "Labor Age". (To tell our story to the newspapers).

## LABOR AGE

President Canney is going to give Company Unionism another swift kick in the pants at our Labor Day celebration, and that also will be told in the newspapers. We are using the so-called 'factual approach'."

We are articularly pleased to see that a direct slam at the General Electric's spy-controlled bunk organization at West Lynn was included in the account of Brother Canney's speech. West Lynn is a neighbor to Salem. Thus was a message of revolt broadcasted to the workers in that plant—and confirms our judgment that the daily press can be used by Labor as well as for the Employing Interests.

When we create news, the press can hardly ignore us. It may attempt to do so for a time. It may be more absorbed in murders, Valentinos, banditry big and little. It may consider a statement by a Charles Schwab or one of his underlings on the "condition of trade" as of more importance than a statement by a labor representative on the condition of the workers. But if we hold meetings, tell the press of them, prepare digests of our speeches for the reporters, do spectacular stunts when need be—they cannot suppress that sort of thing for long. It's against their instincts and their circulation, eventually.

From the Salem clipping we quote the following, as worth of being taken to heart by all:

"He (Canney) stated that the plan of the General Electric in Lynn is looked upon as a joke by all the mechanics that he has talked to about it. He compared the conditions in industry today to the political conditions that existed in the colonies previous to 1776. Then King George held the veto power and now that power is wielded by a graduate of the Harvard School of Business Administration.

"Labor must awaken or it will lose not only its freedom and its brains, but its soul as well," he concluded."

That is the sort of message that will educate the unorganized. That is the sort of stuff that will put new hope of effective revolt in their souls. We hope, within the next few months, to be able to quote from many central bodies who are knocking that spawn of Hypocrisy and Scabbery—the Company Union—on the head. We have the facts. We have the cause. Let us get busy!

### THE "HIGH WAGERS" 'FESS UP

FROM far and wide, from lands across the sea, from all the nooks and crannies of America—has come the hymn entitled "The Gospel of High Wages."

We continue to harp upon that subject, because the tools of the Employing Interests continue to chant about it. That eminent hater of Labor, Sir Esme Howard, the British Ambassador, adds volume to the chorus in his speech to North Carolina manufacturers. Of American employers he there said: "You have learned the gospel of high wages, and you have applied it and shown the world it works."

Which causes that eminent Open Shop champion, the BOSTON TRANSCRIPT, to wax sarcastic. It thinks evidently that this talk about "high wages" has gone a bit too far. Seeing visions of Moscow every day, as it does regularly in its columns, it fears that the workers may take

the bunk seriously, and endeavor to cash in on it by demanding real high wages.

"One doubts," it says, speaking for the Massachusetts mill owners, "whether the doctrine of the fat pay envelope, as an indispensable instrument of national economic salvation, has yet attained such universal acceptance as Sir Esme suggests." It then expresses the interesting wish that the North Carolinians, whom Sir Esme was addressing "would show a little more zeal in making their statutory law as to minimum wages, short hours and bulging bonuses conform more closely to the canon law and to the required standards of the North." Those Northern "standards", by the way, are a fine index of "high wages" in textiles—the average wage being around \$18 per week.

From all the "high wage" talk that has been in the air, says the organ of Open Shoppery, one would be justified in thinking "that every industrialist, every store manager, every bootblack stand proprietor in the whole United States was sitting up nights, and tearing his hair before and after each meal, in ceaseless endeavor to figure out how he could increase his payroll every Saturday morning for 52 weeks in succession, year in and year out."

Of course, the eminent paper hastens to assure us, nothing like that is taking place. Workers who have been living under such delusion need worry about that no longer. Their employers are now racking their brains to find out how to give the serfs more and more! Indeed, the eminent paper opines, that would be a very bad thing. Should the Employing Interests think of service instead of profit, we "would be suffering from an economic collapse more complete than has been known since the inflated Roman Empire collapsed."

If we remember aright, the Roman Empire fell because the Ruling Class forgot all about service, forgot about anything but itself. Be that as it may, one thing is certain: The organized workers must knock out for good, the idea that this U. S. A. is an improvement today on the Land of Harps and Angels for the working class. When Mr. Ripley, the publicity agent of the General Electric, confessed at Camp Tamiment that the average wage at the G. E. plant at Schenectady was only \$27 per week, he gave part of the game away. In that \$27 was included, incidentally, all the high salaries of the executives and bosses!

No union man can say that the opportunity to kill the "high wage" lies is not at hand. We will be glad to furnish any local union or central body full data on this subject, with which they can get the truth across in their local daily press.

### CONSORTING WITH THE "OPEN SHOPPERS"

HIS name is J. B. Landers. He is Secretary-Manager of the Open Shop Division of the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce. In a full page of the NEW YORK COMMERCIAL of July 20th, he bespeaks the glories of the "open shop" in that southwestern metropolis.

"Oklahoma City Industry Thrives Under Open Shop Plan" runs the page-wide scarehead. Under that allur-

ing title, Mr. Landers sets forth the account of how the local Chamber of Commerce "ended the reign of domination and control by the business agent and walking delegate." He attacks union labor as having "contributed nothing" to the upbuilding of the city, its only function being to "breed discontent."

Of the workings of the anti-union schemes in Oklahoma City and elsewhere, we will deal in detail in a coming series of articles in our pages. The thing we wish to refer to now, because it is important, is: That certain union men remained members of the Chamber of Commerce, according to this article, even after the body came out openly in favor of the anti-union crusade. Perhaps these men kidded themselves into believing that they were doing some sort of vague service to the union movement by remaining in the Chamber. Perhaps they thought they would secure for themselves or for the unions they represented, some of the reflected "respectability" of the white-collared and carefully manicured members of that body.

Whatever their motives, they were wrong. One curse of the Labor Movement is that too many labor men are attempting to ape our enemies. How much the Chambers respect these gentlemen from our ranks, who act thusly, is shown by the letter of President Ed. Overholser to one of the union members of the Chamber, advising him to withdraw his membership if he found it "embarrassing." (The man had feebly protested against non-union labor being hired for some of the Chamber's affairs!)

Social climbing may do for a Mrs. Budlong, who parted with a good sum of her husband's money to a plush cushion at Newport, in order that said Mr. Cushion might get her into "the 400." Or it might do for Felix Warburg, the banker, who secretly arranged a \$7,000 dinner in his own honor, with some semi-syphilitic English nobility also present, in order to have the distinction of sitting next to said nobility for an evening. It does not do for Labor. The Chambers of Commerce are our enemies. They know it; we should, if we haven't waked up to the fact, as yet.

#### FRUITS OF "FACTORY SOLIDARITY"

Over One Million Workers Under Feudal Fakery

FROM how far back in the distant past does that phrase of Thomas Carlyle's seem to come: "The workingman has become a fighting man."

We await the day when that expression will be reborn in fact, in America—"the nation of hired men." Our Labor Samson has had his hair shorn short—by the lascivious lure of a new Delilah. She goes by the name of "Company Unionism," as we have attempted modestly to show for sometime past.

With mingled pleasure and regret we pick up on our library table a new pamphlet on this very subject. It is full of the things that militant trade unionists should have at their finger tips. Its title: COMPANY UNIONS, by Robert W. Dunn, with whose writings our readers are familiar.

Our pleasure comes from the fine insight that we get in a comparatively few pages on the subject of employers-made "unionism". We read of the rallying cry of the League for Industrial Rights, militant anti-union

organization, for "factory solidarity" as opposed to "class solidarity". We read of the growth of company unions from 225 in 1919 to 814 in 1924. We see the numbers of workers under them increased from 391,400 in 1919 to 1,177,037 in 1924. We note the divers and sundry brands and kinds of such organizations that have come into being: Mitten's in Philadelphia, Eastman's in Rochester, International Harvester, Pennsylvania Railroad, Steel and utilities, Standard Oil, the I. R. T. of New York City—and so on and on with the chorus of Quackery. The burning object and aim of all: To smash unionism and deprive the workers of freedom.

Our regret is occasioned by the fact that Mr. Dunn's services were not used by the American Federation of Labor, and that this first pamphlet on this highly important subject should have come out under the T.U.E.L. auspices rather than under that of the official Movement itself. To a degree, this is offset by the announcement that the A. F. of L. has now begun a study of Company Unionism. No greater challenge confronts the Movement at this hour than this contrivance of our enemies to deceive and defeat the unorganized.

President Green has rightly made the battle against the company-controlled device the chief plank in Labor's present program, in his Labor Day announcement. Nothing will gain the victory, but two things: Intelligence and Action. With those two great allies mobilized on the side of Labor, under the banner: "Down with the Bosses' Unions! Build Real Unionism," we will retrieve our name as fighting men and make headway on the road to Freedom.

#### TO WHOM WE OWE RESPECT!



Samples of the cleanliness of the representatives of "Constituted Authority"—as seen by the conservative New York Herald-Tribune

# Vital Issues

## WE TOLD YOU SO!

**I**T has begun in Elizabeth, N. J. The upholsterers at Durant's have walked out. And our prophecy in the July issue that things would be stirring in that city soon, is beginning to look correct.

The gang system, to which we referred, has been the cause of the action on the part of the new local of the International Upholstery Workers' Union. It is not an unpleasant sight to see pickets pacing back and forth before the big North Elizabeth plant, with company detec-

tives glaring at them. What a short time ago since that little band of "agitators" was arrested for spreading the union gospel at those very gates.

What those "agitators" did, others of us can do. The agitation in Elizabeth itself must be spread. There is the rest of the sweated force at Durant's yet to get out. There is, also, the big exploited group at Singer's. Their turn will come in time. The day of organization is at hand, and it is up to us to make the most of it.

## THEY WOULD CORRUPT SATAN'S MORALS

### Reeking Rottenness of Our Honorable Judges

**F**OR mental and moral degeneracy, our courts and commissions, when pooled together, cannot be beat. We stand pat on that charge.

Over in Illinois, they have recently gone through the motions of a Senatorial election. The Honorable Colonel Frank Smith emerged as victor out of that struggle against the traction magnate, Senator William B. McKinley. The vox populi had asserted that the regulator of public utilities, he with the clean, beautiful white hands, should sit at Washington rather than the public utility owner.

Alas and alack! Back of the scenes, another form has now been revealed. Samuel Insull, the righteous traction magnate of Chicago, gave until it hurt to the Smith campaign. So deep was his antagonism to the manner in which Smith was "regulating" the utilities of Illinois that he dug deep and long into his jeans for the sum of \$200,000. All to aid Smith's candidacy for the "public good."

The worthy HERALD TRIBUNE of New York City now carries this story, from out of that great fiction center, Paul Smith's: President Coolidge frowns upon the ethics of the Honorable Colonel Smith. The Little Kingfisher is disturbed that a public utility commissioner should have accepted \$200,000 from a utility magnate while the said "commish" was "regulating" the said utility. A story for public consumption, of course! What scruples has Cal for Andy Mellon in the Cabinet or for the other refined corruption that this administration has pulled off for our Wall Street Interests—here and abroad?

Slipping funds and favors to public utility commissioners, in one form or another, is a regular part of the day's work for the utility corporations. Our honorable regulating bodies are gangrened with Colonel Smiths. As to our courts: Even the distinguished BROOKLYN DAILY EAGLE has become concerned at their low state of morality. In its issue of September 6, declaring that the "people are losing faith in the Federal judiciary", it asks the question: "Why the two-year delay in trying Fall, Doheny, Sinclair in the Oil Scandals?"

Two champions of the workers, Sacco and Vanzetti, are hurried quickly enough to trial on trumped-up char-

ges by our courts. Why the long legal lingering over those crooks who robbed the Government itself? Says the EAGLE:

Oil scandals were revealed by U. S. Senate early in 1924. On June 30, 1924, Federal indictments were reported as follows:

ALBERT B. FALL, former Secretary of the Interior. for accepting a \$100,000 bribe.

EDWARD L. DOHENY and his son, oil operators, charged with bribing Fall.

FALL and DOHENY also indicted for conspiracy to defraud the Government of the Nation's war reserves of oil.

FALL and HARRY F. SINCLAIR, oil magnate, indicted for conspiracy.

Two years, substantially, have elapsed and not one of the foregoing indicted men has appeared before a petit jury.

The cases are still being fought on technicalities.

High-priced lawyers have taken advantage of every weakness of the law to keep their clients out of court.

What is responsible for the delays?

One of the replies to the newspaper's questions came from that fearless Progressive, Senator George Norris of Nebraska, soon to become Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Says Senator Norris: "Our courts have fallen down." To which he adds: "The belief is growing in the minds of the common people that the immensely rich are protected by our courts in a way that only the rich can secure immunity. . . . I propose the abolishment of all United States courts except the Supreme Court."

To which we say "Amen!" The more contempt for courts that the workers come to have in their souls, the quicker will they emerge from the condition of "hired men", which Dr. John A. Ryan states is threatening our nation. Which tempts us to suggest that short and succinct slogan: "To Hell with juggling Judgery!"—save that we fear that these be-robed crooks would corrupt Satan's morals.

# In Other Lands

## WHAT PRICE GREED?

With wars and alarms of wars, plottings and counter-plottings among national "statesmen", industrial discontent and industrial chaos confronting a large part of the world, "leadership" lost in a bog of petty bickering and selfish ambitions, the year 1926 sinks somberly into its last quarter.

Tory England and Fascist Italy seize little Abyssinia by the throat—England to grab more natural resources, Italy to get the "right" to build a railway. The African country appeals to the League of Nations! But the League being very busy about other business. Abyssinia finally capitulates, giving the big nations all that they demand—and secures a loan in return! Fascist Spain joins Mussolini in new secret deals, pertaining to Morocco and the Mediterranean. France thereby becomes uneasy, thinking the pacts aimed at her. In which thought, she is probably correct. Morocco, be it remembered, was one of the occasions for the last Great War.

The harvests being almost all in, "Red" Canton marches northward in China against the militarist generals. Kankow is captured and Shanghai sees a possible handwriting on the wall. Britain, alarmed, seeks ways to get further into the scrimmage against the Cantonese. But it cannot hope to make progress in such an enterprise without aid from America and other lands. Of which we shall hear quite a bit later on.

So alarming has become the threat of war arising out of Imperialist maneuvering, that the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain has issued a memorandum to the Second International calling for more speed in the "War on War." The Party proposes world-wide action of the workers for disarmament, including the laying down of tools in the key industries in time of war and the refusal to give war service or to make ammunition.

To such a pass is Imperialist Greed again bringing a world which at one time dreamed of eternal peace out of the slaying of millions of men.

## WHITHER BRITAIN?

Neither Church nor State having brought the coal strike to a close, it continues in full force in Britain. Much scurrying hither and thither has gone on, much debating and negotiating, Churchill trying to settle when Baldwin could not—with the net result that the miners are still out, the iron and steel industry is brought to a state near temporary destruction, and unemployment is maintained at high levels. Something of the same phenomenon is seen on the Albion Isle as in Germany: While the millions of out-of-works continue, the dividends of many of the big industries continue or increase. For the first quarter of 1926, fifteen hundred companies in all sorts of enterprises, show net earnings of seven per cent greater than in any quarter in 1925. The rubber companies, nitrate concerns, breweries and tea companies head the list. Which raises the question: "Who said that capital takes the risks?"

With this sort of maladjustment of income between the classes and masses, and with the Tory Government mud-

ding on education, poor relief, industrial peace, and other things, impartial observers report that British opinion is moving persistently toward the Left. As industrial confusion grows—out of the coal strike and the other miseries of England—this Leftward trend is likely to become stronger. The Communist INTERNATIONAL PRESS CORRESPONDENCE, indeed, sees many "significant symptoms of the beginning revolutionization of the British working class".

## TRADE-UNIONISTICALLY SPEAKING

Although hit hard by the tidal wave of Reaction and Dawesization, the European trade unions are showing life in a number of instances. The Belgium National Trade Union Congress, meeting in August, reported a loss of 25,000 members during the past year—a development rather to be expected under stress of unemployment, the falling franc and impending Wall Street control. Victories for the metal workers and typographical unions in big disputes were reported, nevertheless, at the same time. Movements toward unity are speeding up in other countries. In Czechoslovakia, the German trades unions and the Czech unions have agreed to come together in one body, and in Bulgaria a similar happy understanding has been reached between the group affiliated with Amsterdam and the large independent trade unions. The amalgamation movement in Germany continues, the latest move being the

## HE LEADS THE BATTLING MINERS



Herbert Smith, President of British Miners Federation.

## LABOR AGE

the food producing and distributing trades. Three unions have agreed to go together, representing butchers and food and drink workers. The Danish unions, noted for their militancy, are successfully riding the storm of unemployment and partial industrial chaos up to date. Italy presents the sorriest picture of all. Not only has the Fascist regime crushed the unions to a large degree, but a spirit of defeatism has crept into their ranks. The recent Italian unity conference of Socialist, Communist and Christian trade unions was much divided on the proper steps to take, at the present time. It is interesting to learn that the left wing of the Christian unions is much closer, apparently, to the Communist viewpoint on Russia and militant opposition to Fascism than the "free" or Socialist unions. Workers are now being jailed for refusing to work for nine hours and for agitating strikes.

### THE LINK OF STEEL

As the world was being presented to the "miraculous" picture of Foreign Minister Briand of France and Foreign Minister Stresemann of Germany dining in the little village of Thoiry, at the foot of the Jura Mountains, news came of the union of French, German and Belgian steel interests in a new international trust. The two incidents must be read together. Germany enters the League of Nations, the World War is buried, new alliances and new wars are being prepared. The steel agreement of the three nations did not come about without much hemming and hawing. Once it was even broken off. That was when the American steel interests attempted to wean the Germans away by offering them better terms. But France and Belgium finally won the day. Thereby, a terrific blow was struck at British steel and iron—already on its last legs. Now that Germany is to join with her late enemies in steel exploitation, there is much less need for France to hold the Saar coal region, a necessary field for steel production. The prospect ahead for the workers, out of this link of steel, is a serious one. Not merely that they will have a larger international force to contend with on the industrial field; but that this new alliance is driving Italian, British and perhaps American interests together on the steel field. Already have voices of anger and dissent been heard in French and Italian papers and in our own NEW YORK HERALD.

### IMPERIALISM'S FULL STEAM AHEAD

It is not merely in Steel that we see the marchings and counter-marchings of the clashing national imperialisms. There is the same feeling around us of old, for new understandings, for the robbery of weaker peoples and the extension of national economic interests. Italy and Britain, who formerly faced each other as foes in Abyssinia, have reached the above-mentioned agreement—England to get the waters of Lake Tuna, so needed for her African cotton fields and Italy to extend her Tripoli sphere of empire. The arrangement seems to fit in nicely with the withdrawal of Italian protest over the British seizure of Mosul from the Turk. The new line-up is working out—in steel, oil, Africa and the Mediterranean—of Italy, Spain and Britain against Germany, France and Belgium. In the meantime, Germany moves closer to Russia; while Poland and Italy seek to come together through their mutual ally, Roumania. One and all are united in their

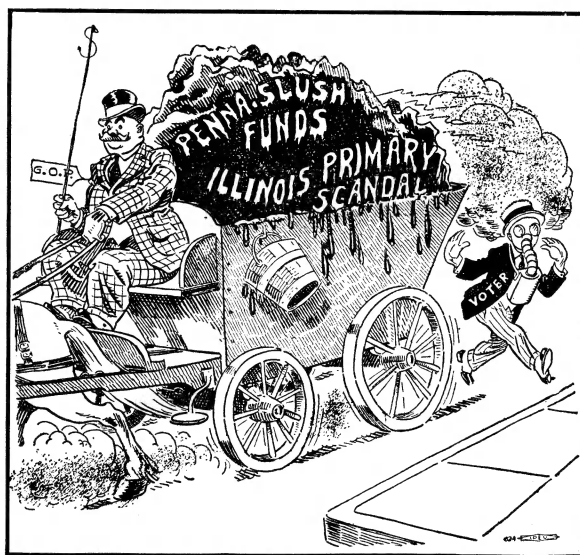
hatred and envy of dominant America, to whose tune they must now march. Such intrigues, with the secret treaties coming out of them, are laying the foundation for the next Great (Oil) War. Only workers' capture of governments can prevent that evil day.

### RUSSIA, CHINA AND INDO CHINA

Soviet Russia rises in the world. Slowly but surely, production is being brought up to almost pre-war conditions under pressure of new methods and new machinery. Burning the first seven months of 1926, her coal and steel production exceeded the output for the entire year 1925. In textiles and agriculture, the same general trend is to be noted. With this development on foot, the movement for recognition among Big Interests has received new impetus. Standard Oil's lead in this respect, in the hope of acquiring the Russian oil fields, is now being reflected in steel and iron. Recently the "Iron Age" opened its pages to a good word for the Soviet Republic.

One of the snags is China. There Russian agitation runs counter to the present policies of the Great Powers. The Chinese allies of the Powers are admittedly adventurers, who levy tribute on cities and live by fighting. The Canton army, seeking to clear them from the country, has pushed them back and threatens all of Eastern China. It is just in this section that the interests of European and American capitalists lie at the present hour. Indo-China to the South has caught something of the Chinese spirit, also, it seems. Here France is in control—the Bank of Indo-China, a French concern, being dominant. In its hands are the French Coal Co. of Tonkin, the Railway Co., of Yunam and the Industrial Credit and Commercial Corporation. The French are exploiting the natives—as miners, rice workers, etc.—poisoning them with opium and taxing and arresting them illegally. A movement of "liberation" is on foot, marked by strikes and other demonstrations.

### MORE HIGH-AND-MIGHTIES



Herewith the eminently respectable "Philadelphia Record" presents a bird's-eye view of the corruption in High Places.

# At the Library Table

## THE TRAGEDY OF WASTE

### Three Billion Slaves Work for Us in Vain

**A**LADDIN'S lamp has been rubbed. Three billion slaves have sprung from the earth, at its command. The power of that many human beings is represented in the energy resources of this country, thanks to the Machine. "The use of energy materials gives to each man, woman and child in this country the equivalent of 30 servants."

And yet, Aladdin's lamp has failed to give much good from out of this great advance in the way of doing things. "What return in terms of livelihood, comfort, leisure and beauty do we get from the labor of 3,000,000,000 mechanical slaves?" asks Mr. Stuart Chase in his "Tragedy of Waste". And the answer: "Among other things we get Pittsburgh, New York's East Side, back of the Yards in Chicago, the tenant farmer, and cemetery sculpture."

"Waste," is the summing up, in the rough, of the offsets to the mechanical progress that has been made. Vicious or useless goods are one source of loss—patent medicines, opium, super-luxuries, the bulk of advertising, war. Unemployed man power is another. Failure to use the technical arts is a third. Wasting natural resources is a fourth.

Through these "four main channels of waste" Mr. Chase carries us, vividly and attractively describing with valuable figures the extent of our losses from this unnecessary cause of causes.

The facts presented are startling, indeed—especially for those who have been regaling themselves with the propaganda of "prosperity". Take the idle man power through unemployment. In so-called normal years, a standing army of unemployed—the "surplus" always in the labor market—number at least a million, according to the Federated Engineering Societies and run up to 1,800,000, according to the National Industrial Conference Board. That is the "standing army" only. Idle man power arises from a number of other causes. Mr. Chase gives the main sources of unemployment as four in number: 1. Intermittent loss—half days, two or three days, etc. This amounts to about 5 per cent of the 20,000,000 workers in manufacturing, mechanical, mining and transportation industries, or about 1,000,000 workers always unemployed from this source. 2. Seasonal unemployment, affecting 2,350,000 workers. 3. Cyclical business depression unemployment. High in "panic years", it averages only about 300,000 per year when spread out over the years. 4. Turnover of labor unemployment, affecting the equivalent of 1,200,000.

To the workers unemployed from the above causes, the "standing army" cannot be added *in toto*, as it overlaps these figures in some instances. But Mr. Chase concludes that there are at least 4,000,000 workers out from all these causes. When to that he has added preventable accidents, preventable sickness, unnecessary idleness (idle rich and hoboos), laying off, and strikes and lockouts—the total figure of 6,000,000 unemployed, all the time, stares us in the face.

Although the author does not make the point, we think

it well to call attention here to the figures on strikes and lockouts. Industrial warfare is the product of our present system. The workers do not want it; but fight they must, if they are to make headway and gain control of their industry and destiny. Big Business propaganda has regaled this country with the "high cost of strikes" as though the worker were to blame for these battles! This propaganda has been one of the most potent publicity weapons used against the unions.

Now, when we look at the figures presented by Mr. Chase, we see that the average unemployment from both strikes and lockouts is but 200,000 always idle. Compared with the 6,000,000 always out from all other causes, this is a small amount indeed. A thing worth remembering for publicity purposes, at the proper time!

The tremendous accumulation of waste which Mr. Chase gradually piles up, as the product of our present ways of doing things, are not merely astounding. They are tragic in their outcome. A national income which should, as a result of our high pressure production, be more than adequate to cover all, becomes hopelessly inadequate to provide even a living wage for all workers. When the unequal distribution of this income is considered, the situation becomes a national crime. The "dying wage" is the prevailing rate in America, as Prof. W. F. Ogburn has said. The loss in education, in acquaintance with beauty, in spiritual qualities—from out of this—cannot be measured. And yet—as the author notes again as he closes this stunning indictment of the present system—we have the equivalent of these 3,000,000,000 slaves, busily hammering and driving and working for all of us. Why do not all of us reap the fruits of their labors? Why?—should be labor's demand. As the workers grow in power, they can meet much of this problem—joining hands with these engineers and other experts who will help serve the Movement.

For education toward that end, and for the purpose of having many figures which can serve toward numerous other useful ends, every trade union should have this little gem of Stuart Chase's in its libraries. The book is published by the Macmillan Company of New York, and its price is reasonable.

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